New Republic

APRIL 5, 1948

TRUMAN SHOULD QUIT

As a candidate for President, Harry Truman should quit. The President of the United States is today the leader of world democracy. Truman has neither the vision nor the strength that leadership demands.

World peace is again in danger, within three years of a world war. All nations are to blame, some for acts of aggression, some for

Continued on Page 5

15¢

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On this page, the New Republic *publishes several departments of informational and news advertising in the field of communications. Advertisements, to be acceptable, must be factual in character or objectively descriptive, or they can be recommendations by authorities or critics. Ads are listed by category, in the form of a directory, to give you easy access to the fields of your interest. Readers will find these listings, which will vary from issue to issue, of continuing interest.*

Contents:

BOOKS

Anthology; Dictionaries and Reference Works; Fiction; International Affairs; Psychology; Public Affairs; Special Interests; Book Club; Bookstores.

PERIODICALS

FINE ARTS

ORGANIZATIONS

PAMPHLETS

RECORDS

BOOKS

Several classifications of books appear each week in this department, but not necessarily the same ones.

ANTHOLOGY

THE COLLECTED TALES OF A. E. COPPARD, *Knopf, $5.00.* A rich harvest of fantasy, humor, and poignancy by a master of the short story. 38 tales from *Adam and Eve and Pinch Me, Clorinda Walks in Heaven, The Black Dog, Fishmonger's Fiddle,* and other volumes. 530 pages.

DICTIONARIES AND REFERENCE WORKS

THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, *ed. by J. A. H. Murray, Oxford University Press, 13 vols., $175.* A corrected re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography, of *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.* A unique and exhaustive dictionary based on historical word usage of all English from its beginnings through 1933.

FICTION

THE HORNCASTERS, *by Victor H. Johnson.* Against the idyllic setting and charm of a Southern village, a white Southern writer takes you through the violation of an insane white girl, the mob burning of a Negro cabin, a mutilation-lynching, and the ambush murder of a Negro veteran who "talks different from the way he used to." Here, with the pitifully backward, are the good people of the South, people who "wouldn't hurt an innocent man, white or colored"—and the overpowering sweep of White Supremacy to disgraceful tragedy. "Superb . . . first-rate tour de force"—*Hartford Courant.* Order direct. *$2.75—Greenberg Publisher, Dept. B, 201 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y.*

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS *by Edward Crankshaw, Viking $3.* "Scintillating and utterly enthralling explanation of the Soviet community . . . a masterpiece on a mighty theme."—*Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College, in Chicago Sun-Times.* "An intensely controversial and penetrating essay, packed with forceful and original insights, and extremely well-written."—*Charles Rolo, Atlantic.*

PSYCHOLOGY

ASSESSMENT OF MEN, *Prepared by the O.S.S. Assessment Staff, Rinehart, $6.50.* A vivid and realistic account of the methods employed by psychologists and psychiatrists to assess the capacities of men and women recruited for the Office of Strategic Services.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

SABBATICAL YEARS WITH PAY, *by Albert Morton Persoff, The Charter Co., Los Angeles 14, $2.50.* A new concept and program of work and leisure designed to create and maintain full employment.

SPECIAL INTERESTS

500 ART & CRAFT BOOKS. A new edition of our big catalog is just off the press. It lists over 100 different classifications of Art and Craft books. Write us today for your free copy. *Watson-Guptill Publications, Dept. NR, 345 Hudson St., New York 14, N. Y.*

BOOK CLUB

The *permanent books,* in this changing world, are selections of PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB. Members pay only $2 (postpaid). For other benefits and full details, drop a postcard to *Dept. M, 567 3rd Ave., New York 16, N. Y.*

BOOKSTORES

The bookstores below will supply or order any books advertised on this page.

Chicago

KROCH'S, *206 North Michigan Ave.*

Los Angeles

ADDISON & SPERRY, *214 East 5th St.* Tucker 8749.

BRENTANO'S, *611 West 7th St.*

New York

BRENTANO'S, *586 Fifth Ave.*

Washington

SIDNEY KRAMER BOOKS, *1722 H St., NW.*

PERIODICALS

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, Winter Issue, 200 pages, *A Centenary of Maxism,* 12 articles by leading American and European authorities on the backgrounds and influence of the Communist Manifesto. At leading bookstores, 75¢ copy and from SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, Dept R, *30 E. 20th St., New York.* Special issue included in yearly subscriptions (4 issues) at $1.50.

FINE ARTS

ART REPRODUCTIONS

New York

44TH ST. GALLERY, *133 W. 44th St.* Rare and out of print reproductions. European and American. Medici, Piper-Druck, Hanfstaengel, Villon, Bruchmann. Custom framing. From 10:30 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.

KLEEMAN, *65 E. 57 St., N. Y. C.* Modern French Prints.

TRIBUNE SUBWAY GALLERY, *100 W. 42nd St., N. Y. C.* (Sub. Arcade Downstairs). New Paris Imports. SILK SCREEN PICTURES by *Utrillo, Vlaminck, Lautrec,* framed $2.25. Limited offer! COLOR REPRODUCTIONS, by *Picasso, Braque, Van Gogh, Degas, Bruegel, Vermeer;* pre-framed-varnished, $1.45 and up. KAETHE KOLLWITZ portfolio, 10 reprods., (Lithos & Woodcuts), 9x11, special $1.10. Ask for Catalog, 232 pp., 59 color and 658 other reproductions.

San Francisco

RAYMOND & RAYMOND, INC., *615 Sutter St.* Reproductions, Distinctive Framing.

ORGANIZATIONS

This department provides public-minded organizations with an opportunity to state their purposes, announce meetings and activities and advertise their publications.

WORK WITH WALLACE. Available now to individuals and organizations at cost—pamphlets with Wallace speeches; Wallace testimony on Marshall Plan; *New Republic* "Stand Up and Be Counted" editorial reprint; 6-minute 16mm film "Wallace Speaks" and one-minute film trailers; buttons, photographs, leaflets and other material. Contact your local Wallace committee or write to the *National Wallace for President Committee, 105 East 36th St., New York 16, N. Y.*

PAMPHLETS

PEP *(Political and Economic Planning)* PAMPHLETS: *Issued periodically by PEP, London, England.* Most recent issues include: 279—The Human Factor in Industry; 278—Family and Nation; 277—Local Government in Bezoria; 276—Manpower Movements; 275—The Agricultural Machinery Industry; 274—Medical Group Practice in the U. S.; 273—A Long-Term Fuel Policy; 272—Framework of Collective Bargaining; 271—Economics of the Orchestra. Each *25¢. Order from: New Republic, 40 E. 49th St., New York 17, N. Y.*

RECORDS

Records and record catalogues of special interest are listed in this section.

F. D. ROOSEVELT'S OWN VOICE. Authorized recording of 23 of his most important radio addresses, N. B. C. incomparable recording, from First Inaugural March, 1933, to Jefferson Day address (posthumous), April, 1945. Two de luxe souvenir albums, 12 records, 2 sides, unbreakable, $24.50 set. For Collectors, Archives, Schools, Speech Students. *Linguaphone Institute, 204 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: Michael Straight
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson

CONTENTS FOR APRIL 5, 1948

5 Truman Should Quit
6 The Week:
6 Meeting of Big Two?
6 Appeasement Politics
7 Arms Boom
8 Law and Order in Detroit
8 Social Democrats Meet
9 Get Less, Spend More
10 Henry Wallace's Column
11 Portrait of the President
14 Boom or Bust
17 Books
19 Bandwagon
20 Movies
21 Theater
22 Radio

ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Joseph Lyford, Thomas Whiteside

STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Lew Frank Jr., William Harlan Hale, Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Neikind, James R. Newman, Thomas Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Richard Watts, Jr.

WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman, Jan Hasbrouck. Helen Fuller (Political Editor)

DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), George Mayberry (Books), Harold Wolff (Business), Angus McDonald (Farm), Eva Putnam (Foreign Press), Willard Shelton (Labor), Charles Miller and Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Harold Clurman (Theater), Jane Bedell (United Nations)

ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Lynn Chase

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Sally Howell, Ruth Tarcov

RESEARCH: Myriam Wilson (Chief), Elizabeth L. Gardner, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant

LIBRARY: Patricia Kuhnel (Chief), Fannie B. Sibley

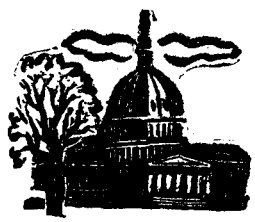
ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1948, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE DREADFUL WORD "war" has come back into the vocabulary of American leaders. More shocks, more incidents, more banner headlines lie ahead. Secretary Marshall is saying grimmer things off the record than on. It would be deceiving readers to deny the new note of urgency in Washington. As the tide of spring puts sea-weedy green onto the bare boughs of Capitol trees, another tide is rising, too.



Is Truman creating a scare for political effect? Few Republicans think so, though some say so. They do not think Truman is the type to benefit politically by world crises. It is an ironic measure of the contempt with which the GOP now views his election prospects that it is prepared to accept the Truman-Marshall appraisal of Russia's intentions with reasonable detachment. After the Czech and Finnish incidents, the three Scandinavian countries scurried together for mutual protection, and so did Britain, France and their three small neighbors, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. It seems only a question of time before Washington offers the two groups guarantees of military aid.

Incidentally, the day after Bevin made his dramatic Western European plea in January he cabled Marshall: How about underwriting this project? Marshall replied: Nothing doing till you get it on paper. Now it's on paper, and a lot more has happened.

One good puff from a Democratic big city boss would now blow Truman out of the presidential nomination. It has reached a point at which liberal Democratic Senator Murray of Montana sidesteps when asked if he'll support Truman, and at which petty precinct leaders in Brooklyn talk revolt.

Here's the situation. Most Democratic leaders now privately concede this is a GOP year. The point is, can they salvage more in local contests with Truman or without him? There's a big group of trade unionists, independents and minority groups that would normally vote Democrat in the cities but are apathetic or hostile to the President. If Democratic bosses decide he's too much of a load to carry for local purposes, they will ditch him.

But for whom? Would Eisenhower now eat his own words? Barkley is 70. A conservative Southerner would be worse than Truman. On the other hand, Justice Douglas has a strong record. And if directly ordered by his commander-in-chief, Marshall might run. The Philadelphia convention may be amusing after all. In 1920 the Democrats came up with an Ohio Governor, James Cox, but there don't seem to be any Ohio Governors of the right party around any more.

The mixture of mobilization and demobilization now going on simultaneously here makes Washington extraordinarily confused. Thus the huge new tax-reduction bill, with special gifts for the wealthy, comes out at one side of the legislative revolving door and passes the draft bill going in. We honor the handful of Senators and Representatives who stuck to their guns against the tax cut at a time of inflation and world crisis—11 in the Senate and 67 in the House. Some of them thought it inconsistent to conscript lives while demobilizing dollars.

Senator O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) urged reimposition of the excess-profits tax on corporations. Junking EPT in 1945 meant the first great business bonanza and touched off inflation. Here is how profits of certain industry groups, after taxes, soared last year, compared to 1946: cement, glass and stone products, 33-percent increase; food products, except for meat and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

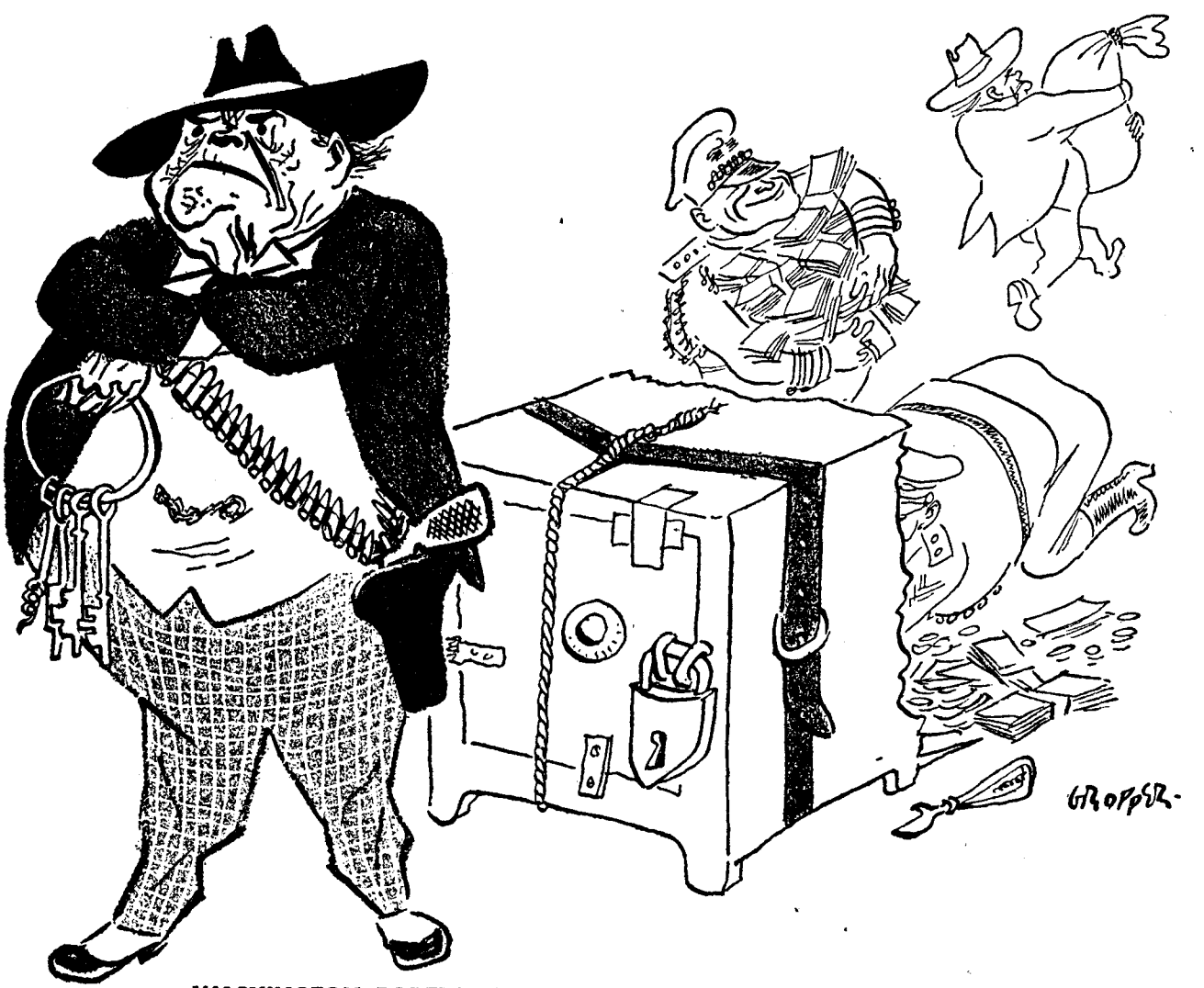
sugar, 39 percent; iron and steel, 58 percent; paint and varnish, 71 percent; building, heating and plumbing, 96 percent. Average earnings on net worth of 960 manufacturers jumped from 12 percent in 1946, to 17 percent in 1947. Democrats voted for the O'Mahoney excess-profits-tax amendment, 23 to 15, but the Republicans overwhelmed it, 3 for, and 43 against.

Of all the Truman civil-rights proposals, the poll-tax-abolition bill seems least emotional and hardest to oppose. Only seven states retain such taxes. It is not really a racial issue, for the tax is directed as much against poor whites as Negroes. The tax has no economic value. It is indefensible in a nation that criticizes one-party Russia. If Republicans are sincere, they should be able to put through the repealer, even though the cumbersome Senate cloture procedure has been invoked only four times in thirty-one years.

Georgia repealed its own poll tax and the number of voters almost tripled between congressional elections, four years apart. The seven poll-tax states have 69 Representatives, whose election brought forth only 1.2 million votes in 1946. This is less than the total votes cast in one Ohio seat for congressman-at-large. GOP good faith will be tested by whether it really pushes this issue to a conclusion in the Senate.

Notes: Even big business is protesting the extent to which House anti-Labor Department budget cuts have gone; many congressmen are learning with surprise that industry uses Bureau of Labor Statistics figures. . . . Truman quietly recovered a fumble by withdrawing the nomination of B. N. Behling for the Federal Power Commission; his confirmation apparently would have broken a commission tie in favor of the private power interests. . . . Fashionable Dupont Circle now has Washington's first non-segregated movie. . . . Dewey is reported to have protested the first *Life* "profile" of him in its GOP-candidate series as not favorable enough; the writer was paid, the article killed, and a piece prepared by another writer. . . . Bob Taft is showing his "liberalism" by effectively pushing a new bill to aid state education, a program long overdue; one reason for its delay was Taft's own fight against federal aid to education four years ago when he wasn't a candidate.

Washington T. R. B.



WASHINGTON PORTRAITS: The Senate Appropriations Committee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 118, NUMBER 14, ISSUE 1740, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 5, 1948 **New Republic**

TRUMAN SHOULD QUIT

(Continued from cover)

lost opportunities. Our task is not to place the blame, but to halt the drift. America alone can lead the world to peace. But only if America is led.

World peace can still be saved. But not under President Truman. If present trends continue, war will come and America will lose the war.

America is a bond of common values held by 140 million citizens. Our common values are wider than any government and deeper than any doctrine. Many groups exist to interpret and enforce our values. Only one man can finally express them—the President. The President alone speaks for our nation, shaping our ambitions, committing us to a course of action from which there may be no retreat.

In our democracy there is no simple will. Our conflicts are many and open, as they should be. Only our sense of ultimate unity—our national interest—makes us a people. Only the President can speak for our national interest. Of course, he shares his authority and responsibility. Yet he is the final arbiter. Even his cabinet members bring only partial approaches to our over-all problem. We may criticize their approaches; often they represent necessary points of view.

For instance, the Department of Defense, charged with preparing this country for war, must insist on our military superiority; the Department of Justice insists on the maintenance of our national sovereignty; the Departments of Commerce, Labor, Agriculture and the Interior strive to protect our living standards and our resources. All these considerations may conflict with each other and all may be in conflict with our over-all national interest. Peace may require the sharing of resources, the leveling of living standards, the curbing of sovereignty, the surrender of military might. Only the President can override all conflicts and subordinate each separate interest to the single concept of our ultimate purpose.

Holding that concept, Franklin Roosevelt kept our interests in proper relation to our values. In President Truman there is no single concept and no superior will. The purpose has gone to seed. The cabinet is gripped by one consideration—preparation for war. On issue after issue the President has surrendered, first to one group, then to another, taking no stand or reversing his stand, robbing America of morality and consistency, both important in world politics.

We recognize the President's problems in dealing with a Republican Congress and the injustice of many of the attacks upon him. We believe that his domestic program has in general been liberal. We support his civil-rights program as wholly courageous and wise. We assert that the all-important issue is world peace. We know there is no easy way of working with the USSR. We believe that a way can be found by a President free of the doctrine of unending struggle which Truman formulated and of which he can only be a prisoner from now on.

An over-all settlement is necessary for peace. Truman is incapable of thinking in the terms that such a settlement requires. The way to negotiation must be kept open. One reason it is closed today is Truman's own sense of personal inadequacy in dealing with Soviet leaders. He who holds the presidency must be equal to the tasks America faces. Truman can only attempt to reduce our task to his own abilities. Lacking direction, we are stumbling toward war.

World peace is not within our power alone. We must seek it with all our strength. Without such an effort, if war comes, it will come meanly and poorly. It will follow no great stand on behalf of the United Nations. It will raise no clear moral issue. Even our own national interest will be obscured. America's cause, at heart, may still be just. But given leaders without the strength or the will to express our cause, our state will lose the support of all other peoples, and its own, and so will lose the war.

Today we cannot look beyond the peace which we believe it is within America's power, if not Truman's, to save. For this reason alone, we call upon Truman to quit, without any reflection upon his personal integrity or any special concern for the Democratic Party, which, under him, is dying. The presidency is above personality, above party, above the ability of Truman. To recognize his incapacity is not to deny his good intentions but to affirm the magnitude of the decisions which any President must make in the next four years. World democracy requires world leadership. Great leadership was demanded of our President in winning the war. It was given then by Franklin Roosevelt. Great leadership is demanded of America now in securing peace. It is not within Truman's power to give.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

DARK HORSE

Who is for Truman? Not Claude Pepper or Lister Hill any longer, now that revolt has captured the South. Not Jake Arvey in Chicago, James Roosevelt in California, Mayor William O'Dwyer, or Frank Sampson of Tammany Hall. Not even Frank Hague or Ed Flynn, if rumors are right. The Northern machine bosses in Truman's camp are folding their tents and quietly stealing away. As a candidate for the Democratic nomination, Harry Truman is in danger of becoming a dark horse.

A few party stalwarts in Boston and Pittsburgh are still for Truman. A top Washington reporter, Richard Lee Strout, writes in this week's *NR* that as a candidate Truman, for all his weaknesses, may poll a large vote among independents opposed to Henry Wallace's foreign policy. It seems to us that, for the reasons we state editorially, Candidate Truman, for most liberals, has become unacceptable.

MEETING OF THE BIG TWO?

A rumor is recurring in Washington that Stalin has made the first overture for a meeting with President Truman. The story was given a general denial by the State Department when it was first printed, in an entirely undocumented form, a few weeks ago. Since then, it has bobbed up so persistently and in so much detail that it seems worth while to give the gist of it.

The approach was made, the story goes, through Ambassador Robert Murphy in Berlin by Marshal V. D. Sokolovsky, administrator of the Russian zone. Sokolovsky is said to have told Murphy that the entire matter of relations between the United States and Russia had been under debate by the Politburo for some time.

He indicated, naturally in guarded terms, that in policy discussions Molotov had taken the position that Russia could count on a free hand in Europe, since the US, in his opinion, would not fight under any circumstances. An opposite view was espoused by Marshal Beria, Russia's internal-security chief.

Beria argued that his information indicated that the US was reaching the point where it would resist Russian expansionism with force. The time had come for Russia, which has no desire for—and is in no condition to fight—a war at present, to see what kind of agreement could be reached with the US. Therefore a meeting between Generalissimo Stalin and President Truman was necessary.

According to the story, when the Politburo voted, Beria's argument won. Stalin had abstained from voting, but later agreed on the necessity of a Big Two meeting.

Murphy is said to have brought this information back to Washington when he came on a hasty visit early in February. No public explanation of his return was given at the time. He conferred lengthily within the State Department and visited the Pentagon as well. After two days' discussion, Murphy is said to have been ordered to have no further dealings with Marshal Sokolovsky. A meeting with Stalin was definitely not desired by the Administration at this time.

Actually, a surprisingly large body of bipartisan sentiment around the Capitol favors such a meeting. Alexander Wiley, a conservative Republican from Wisconsin, has advocated it on the Senate floor. Senators Hatch (D, N. M.), Hill (D, Ala.) and Murray (D, Mont.) have tried unsuccessfully to see the President recently to make a similar suggestion. Approval of a Big Two meeting has also been expressed by a number of Representatives.

APPEASEMENT POLITICS

The way of the appeaser is perilous. Without principles to guide him, the appeaser cannot know where his path will lead. Such is the course being taken by the makers of American foreign policy.

The abandonment of Palestine partition is appeasement of the oil-rich Arab states.

The offer of Trieste to Italy is appeasement of the Italian voters.

Taken together, the two steps form a pattern which is not the conduct of a nation certain of its moral and physical strength. Rather it is the conduct of uncertainty, temporization and, finally, moral cowardice.

On both the Trieste and Palestine issues the United Nations, by patient and tedious negotiations had reached agreements which promised workable solutions of terribly tangled world problems. Now the US unilaterally has

Printing Trouble

Our readers may note a slightly altered appearance of our pages this week, and a somewhat smaller magazine than usual. These changes are temporary, and are due to difficulties of publication because of a dispute between the International Typographical Union and the employing printers of New York City, where this magazine is produced.

The compositors in many of the commercial printing plants in the city are not working, as we go to press, because of a controversy over wages, hours and working conditions. This issue of the *New Republic* was produced under strict union conditions, approved by Laurence Victory, local president of the ITU, but on an emergency basis. We ask the indulgence of our readers until normal publishing routines are restored.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tossed overboard those agreements in anticipation of temporary political gains.

The desertion of principle is blatant, but the worst aspect is the blow our government has dealt the UN and its future. To pretend that the new American policy for Palestine supports the authority of the UN is hypocritical. Instead, it shows up the weakness of the UN, which has no troops and little prospect of getting any, since neither the United States nor the USSR, the two most logical sources, wants the troops of the other to enter the area.

A deal with Britain to keep her troops there, as she also has kept some in Greece, may be possible. This is cold comfort, since the British have been unable, or unwilling, to maintain order in Palestine, where hundreds of lives have been lost in the last few weeks.

Spurred on by fear and uncertainty, the policy of appeasement will go farther to include African colonies for Italy, more arms for Arabs and heaven knows what, for the "poor Germans." The only thing our policy-makers show no inclination to appease is the conscience of America.

CONGRESS TURNS WARLIKE

There is a strong chance that Congress will approve either Universal Military Training or Selective Service. In an election year, this is a lot for a Democratic President to get from a Republican Congress.

Top Defense and State Department officials have given the members of both House and Senate Armed Services Committees the full "war scare" treatment.

The pressure groups which had successfully blocked UMT before President Truman's St. Patrick's Day speeches have little hope of stopping Selective Service. It can be pictured as an "emergency" measure, whereas military training is a "long range," peacetime matter. And, with so many congressmen and so many organizations already in opposition to UMT, it should be much simpler to push

through the hitherto undiscussed Selective Service program.

Opponents of military service are handicapped by the fact that in most cases their mandates from their organizations apply only to UMT. They have no instructions authorizing them to fight Selective Service, since that question had not been at issue.

Truman's supporters are trying to take advantage of this situation. There is talk now of cutting short the Senate hearings on UMT at the end of next week, although the committee had promised full and careful consideration to make up for the abrupt handling it received in the House. With 10 of the 13 Senate committee members definitely supporting the Truman proposals, Administration leaders are pushing to bring the draft issue to the floor before the Italian elections on April 18.

As opposition to conscription grows weaker, House leaders may soon be able to end the Rules Committee bottleneck which has blocked UMT for so long. The Friends, the pacifist groups and the Communists stand as solidly against any kind of military mobilization as they have in the past. Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia and other prominent Catholics have been fighting hard against conscription. But Cardinal Spellman, appearing with Truman on St. Patrick's Day, has now taken his stand on the side of UMT and the draft.

Other church, education, labor and farm organizations that have been fighting UMT are now weakening. The Washington spokesmen for most of these groups feel uncertain of their position, unsure whether their membership puts fighting communism ahead of fighting militarism now.

If congressional action could be delayed until after the yearly membership meetings which most of these organizations will hold during the summer months, a strong anti-military lobby might be reformed. The Truman program depends on speed.

ARMS BOOM

People who should know better have been blaming Wall Street's chronic doldrums on the fear of war. Last week, the stock market went to war, and sent the bears scurrying for cover.

After digesting Truman's speech, stocks kited upward. The Dow-Jones Industrial Average reached 173.6, 10 points above the bear-market low. Shorts scurried for cover. One cagy investor, with a quarter of a million in airplane stocks and an equivalent short position in industrials, saw most of a tidy's year's profit wiped out in three days. Record trading volume—including the biggest Saturday's business in more than two years—put brokerage houses back in the black.

For business analysts, Wall Street was still not easy to understand. Airplane stocks moved up sturdily, even though Truman had not mentioned them. Glenn Martin stock, which had been sold for as low as 14½ since the first of the year, touched 21⅛. On Thursday, the day the company

Guns and Butter Too

The American Institute of Public Opinion polled Americans the other day on whether they wanted increases in the size of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. On a bigger Army, 61 percent said yes; on a bigger Navy, 63 percent; on a bigger Air Force, 74 percent. The poll-takers asked the same persons if they would be willing to pay higher taxes for the expanded services. On the Army only 55 percent said yes; on the Navy, 55 percent; on the Air Force, 63 percent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

announced that it had lost $19 million last year, the stock was bid up 3/8 of a point. Obviously, the market reaction was broad.

But it was broader than even bullish operators expected. Why, for example, did firms like American Seating or Greyhound Bus, with no apparent war-effort affiliations, hit high ground?

It looked as if the market was assuming that what the economy needed was another good defense boom to take up some of the slack. Cashed-in savings and bonus bonds had probably sustained consumer purchasing as long as they could. A $10 or $12 billion-dollar defense spending program —especially with lower tax rates— would take up the burden of buying the record output of US industry. And since there were even more soft spots in consumer-goods industries than in the heavy fields, it was natural that they should rise, too. In any case, perish the thought that the fear of war was a depressant on Wall Street.

City of Detroit
DEPARTMENT OF POLICE
HARRY S. TOY
COMMISSIONER

March 11, 1948

Mr. Allen Sayler
Wallace for President --
Michigan Committee
421 Reid Building
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Sir:

Theodore Roosevelt was the candidate of the Progressive Party for President, and as such was entered on our ballot by the Progressive Party of Michigan. To my way of thinking, he was one of the greatest Americans.

That the Progressive Party of Michigan should now be using the stationery of the "Wallace for President -- Michigan Committee" is a terrible thing. Teddy Roosevelt would turn over in his grave were he to know that such Un-American activities and such an Un-American leader as that of Wallace are now being supported by the Progressive Party of Michigan.

I gather from your letter that your trend is like that of Wallace -- off the track -- never anywhere near the mark.

I have no doubt that you object to statements that were made by me, especially when I said that I felt that all those engaged in Un-American activities ought to be either shot, thrown out of the country, or put in jail.

Yours very truly,

Harry S. Toy
Commissioner

HST/p

Law and Order

On March 7, Harry S. Toy, Detroit Police Commissioner, participated in a radio broadcast over Station WWJ on the subject of "Communism." He is quoted as having said that Soviet agents have entered this country recently through Canada disguised as Jewish rabbis and that if he had his way, he would imprison citizens who hold radical political views.

The letter reproduced above was written by Commissioner Toy in response to a letter protesting his broadcast, from Allen Sayler, chairman of the Progressive Party of Michigan.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS MEET

by Denis Healey

International Secretary, British Labor Party

LONDON (by wireless)

AT TWO CONFERENCES in England, international social democracy chose a clear, positive policy for the first time since the war. During the last months most of the East European Socialist Parties had been eliminated by fusion with the Communists, and with them there disappeared also the dissension that had previously paralyzed all Socialist conferences. Now at last the Western Socialists reacted to the Cominform by breaking contact with all groups that continue in alliance with the Communists.

The ban affects seriously only Pietro Nenni's Italian Socialist Party. Thousands of wavering Socialist voters in Italy may transfer their allegiance to the list of Socialist Unity, combining Giuseppe Saragat's party with prominent independent Socialists like Ivan Matteo Lombardo and Ignazio Silone.

The new Socialist orientation met little opposition at the conference in London. There was drama in the arrival of Blazej Vilim, who had been removed from his leadership of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party during the crisis in Prague. The Jewish Socialist Parties, the Bund and Poale Zion, abstained from voting on the final resolution, and Nenni's representatives walked.

The 14 European Socialist Parties agreed that US financial aid to Europe should be used to help create the basis for a United States of Europe. In a unanimously adopted resolution the conference hailed ERP and said the American people had the right to seek guarantees against waste of aid given to Europe.

Discussion of the functions and authority of the 16-nation organization, however, revealed differences of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinion. France and the Benelux countries wanted immediate organization, with supra-national authority, as a first step toward a federal union of Europe. But most of the countries, led by Scandinavia and Britain, preferred to concentrate on the practical work of economic integration before deciding on constitutional forms which would express the community of interest thus created.

All parties agree to remain unrepresented, officially, at the Hague congress in June, where Winston Churchill inevitably will be one of the major figures. It is possible that this decision may lead to postponement of the Hague Congress, and a different congress on a more representative basis was therefore considered. The Socialist Parties will meet again in Paris on April 25 to discuss the political problems of European union.

The two meetings in England have cleared the ground for a vigorous campaign by which European Socialists may succeed in reversing present trends toward polarization and ensure America's entry into European politics without throwing the working class into the arms of the Communists.

HARD LOOK

A hard look at practical politics was taken by more than 500 persons at Harvard University over the weekend of March 20-21.

The "New England School of Political Action Techniques" was sponsored by the Harvard Chapter of the American Veterans' Committee. Half the tickets were reserved for AVC members in New England and the other half were distributed through the CIO and the AFL.

The School was non-partisan, the speakers and discussion leaders including Republican, Democratic and third-party spokesmen. Each person attending chose one of nine groups corresponding to his own chief interest, and joined in discussion of such subjects as how to mobilize a community, plan a political campaign and prepare propaganda and publicity, with special emphasis on effective participation by labor in political affairs.

AVC members at Columbia University are now planning a similar school in the near future for their members and other interested persons in the New York City area.

Boost For Cupid

Tax experts uncovered in the Republican income-tax bill a provision that will encourage wealthy widows and well-heeled old bucks to marry at government expense. The estate-tax section of the bill carries a provision which, like the income-tax clause, makes the death taxes much lower if the departed is married. The government share of a million-dollar estate would be cut almost half a million dollars by a marriage late in life. Tax experts predict that if this provision goes through, Tommy Manville will be crowded off the front pages by a rush of leave-it-to-me-instead-of-Uncle Sam marriages.

GET LESS, SPEND MORE

The two-year battle of the GOP majority in Congress to cut taxes seems to have come to a successful conclusion. A last-minute blitz jammed the compromise $4.8 billion version through a willing House under a one-hour gag rule, no amendments allowed. Both Senate and House passed the compromise tax cut by a margin sufficient to override the expected veto.

In its final form, the bill is even more favorable to the rich than were earlier versions, treating all incomes from $2,000 to $136,719 approximately the same. The "rich" above that figure get a smaller cut, percentagewise.

The whole thing is, of course, just political maneuvering. Several congressmen admitted that taxes will probably have to be raised again. But no one will be able to say that the GOP didn't keep its promise. Furthermore, certain principles which favor rich GOP backers, such as the extension of community-property provisions to all married couples, will have been established.

The complete unreality of the GOP gesture was pointed up—and it was too apt to be coincidental—by the revelation on the day the House was to take its final vote that budget and defense chiefs had been talking over with Truman the possibility that our arms bill might rise as much as $8 billion next year. ERP was also before the House. So was the draft and Universal Military Training.

The House managed to spare one hour to cut the government's income a tenth and then got on with the job of raising its expenses.

PITY THE POOR MILKMAN

US consumers are drinking less milk. In 1945, under the OPA, US consumers averaged 201.4 quarts per capita, last year, only 187.4 quarts, and this year, the Department of Agriculture expects it to fall to 186.

For the dairy companies, this drop in consumption was matched by astronomic profits. Borden's annual earnings increased for the tenth time in a row. Its net income last year was $19.7 million, compared to $7.5 million in 1940. National Dairy's net profit of $23.1 million was a little off from last year, but was still more than double the 1940 earnings. The drop, says National Dairy, deadpan, was due to "our resistance to consumer price increases."

Last week, National Dairy's "resistance" apparently weakened, as it and Borden's announced further increases in the price of milk.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

Buying Foreign Elections

IF THERE WERE an international Hatch Act to govern free elections, the United States could be convicted of violation as much as any other nation. Britain and Russia would be in a close race for second place.

In the old days the United States interfered, under cover, in the elections in countries close to its borders, where American corporations had large investments. The Monroe Doctrine was our excuse. If we didn't maintain law and order in our neighborhood, the British or French might come in to do it and that would be against the Monroe Doctrine.

It is only during the past year that the United States has gone in extensively for interfering in the governmental affairs of Europe. The Truman Doctrine has replaced the Monroe Doctrine as the guide to America's foreign policy.

As amended by the State Department and by presidential declaration, the Truman Doctrine and ERP now mean that the United States will do everything it can to prevent Communists from participating in government anywhere in the world, even though that participation may be earned by democratic elections. Loans, threats and bribes are used to influence elections. The question is how the methods now being used will actually influence a vote which is secretly taken and accurately counted.

The United States no longer commands the moral influence abroad which we formerly had; our representatives are too often seen with people who are engaged in black marketing, with decadent aristocrats, anti-Semites, monopolists, and in general with those who have long been regarded as exploiters of the people.

Never has the United States so staked its prestige on any election as on the Italian election of April 18. The Italian people are told that if they will be good and vote as the United States wants, they will get not only money and goods under the Marshall Plan but also a return of Trieste, of shipping, and of colonies in Africa. If they vote wrong, there will be military intervention on the part of the United States. The Italians believe that American airbases have been opened in Cyrenaica and preparations made for United States naval units to use Italian ports.

It is amazing to me to hear people saying seriously that the United States must intervene in Italy to combat Russian aggression. It is not only amazing but alarming, because the Italian election is being used as the excuse for putting over Universal Military Training and the draft here at home. The outcome of the Italian election could, it is clear, be made the excuse for putting troops into Italy and eventually into Yugoslavia on a basis which can by imperceptible stages generate a hot war.

What is this "Russian aggression" which can unleash all these evils? Actually it is a combination of Togliatti and Nenni forces and some minor groups, whose program would bring about long overdue social and political reforms. Outside of Spain and Portugal, no country in Western Europe has been so backward as Italy, both industrially and agriculturally. In the south, in particular, there has been no land reform. In their backwardness, parts of Italy are almost reminiscent of prerevolutionary Russia.

Immediately after the war all the parties in the Italian Committee of National Liberation agreed on a program of land reform and moderate nationalization of basic industry. But nothing has been done to put that paper program into effect on any important scale. Every Italian government since the war has been dominated by the right wing. When I was in Italy last fall I found greater contrasts of wealth and poverty than anywhere else I had ever been except possibly in certain parts of Peru and Chile.

Like so many Latin countries, Italy has been a paradise for black-market operators. Price controls and rationing are largely meaningless. Monetary reform has amounted to little. No real program has been created for taxing the wealth of the black-market racketeers and the former collaborators. The first day we were in Rome last fall an American introduced us to a friend in case we wanted to change dollars into lire. A former war prisoner in the United States, he was making $150 a day speculating in the black market. The American told me that he was "very conservative."

No wonder Italy suffers so terribly from inflation. I shall never forget the utterly abject poverty I saw there, the hunger, filth, disease and terrible unemployment. The rich live as well as ever, buying in the black market, but the working people are near starvation. The Italian people have seen how American goods, which are denied to themselves, reach the rich. They have seen how large American firms have come into Italy since the war, and how the Italian government has given some of these firms special favors.

I do not believe that the American people are in favor of what the American government has been up to in Italy. They do not believe in bribery and threats. They do not believe that the prestige of our glorious nation should be risked in this way on an election which could so easily backfire and, in its backfiring, get us into worse trouble.

I still say the Truman Doctrine is selling communism, not Americanism.

Henry A Wallace

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CANDIDATE IN THE WHITE HOUSE

After three years, the simple appeal of an amiable, serge-clad President who loses too often is wearing thin—so are Truman's chances **by Richard L. Strout**

WHEN HARRY TRUMAN took the presidency three years ago, the tension went out of Washington like the air from a pricked ballon. Emotion toward Roosevelt had reached a point where it was a family quarrel over America. Suddenly FDR, with his grin and cigarette holder, was gone and in the great void there stood a little man in a blue serge suit.

The instrument Fate had picked as its agent was the embodiment of the Average Man, a one-man Gallup poll, a composite of all those ordinary folk who had sadly watched the Roosevelt bier roll down Pennsylvania Avenue. He was simple and direct. He had a high-school education. He was hopeful, and willing, and worked hard. He had been a rather commonplace Missouri politician, but in the Senate he had become a symbol of honesty as watchdog over war spending. Now he would be strengthened by the God-given sense of dedication which the White House imposes on each incumbent. Unlike Washington or Lincoln, he could play the "Missouri Waltz" from memory.

I defy any reasonable person to meet Harry Truman and not like him. I have attended many press conferences, and frequently disagreed with him, but he has always seemed direct, friendly and disarmingly unassuming. He is the kind of man who would make the ideal next-door neighbor—he would respect your rights, make allowance for your dog in his petunia bed, do thoughtful things for the family and shovel more than his share of the snow. These are reasonable and important virtues.

As the nation discovered Truman, his popularity soared. That first fulsome honeymoon is recalled today by such scrapbook headlines as the *Life* article, "Farmer Truman: He Once Ploughed Straightest Furrow in Missouri." Truman's Gallup rating eclipsed Roosevelt's highest. Unfortunately, opinion polls measure highs and lows but not depths. Sympathy for the new President was universal but not intense; in three years at the White House he has never raised enough fanatical warmth to boil an egg.

From the outset, it is fair to say, nobody felt that Truman was a particularly great man. The feeling grew that he might not be an exceptionally able man. This did not necessarily mean that he would not be a good President. But a commonplace figure would be a relief to a good many people who were sick and tired of a great man in the White House. There are times when simple mediocrity is the highest political asset. When America seeks such a quality in a President it normally turns to a Republican, but Democratic chiefs asked themselves if, this time, Truman might not do the trick for them.

One fact soon became evident: Congress was tired of reform and social advance. Democrats controlled Congress, but they rebuffed their friendly ex-colleague for all that. Truman's advent eased the political tension, but this didn't enact his recommendations. In the first year Congress rejected his proposals for emergency housing, expansion of unemployment compensation, stockpiling of strategic materials, a central agency for public works, a fair employment practice commission, a boost in minimum wages and a dozen similar recommendations in the Roosevelt vein. The sole exception was the Full Employment Act. This was historic—for the first time in history the government acknowledged its responsibility for trying to deal with the business cycle.

As time passed, it developed that Truman had little of the Roosevelt skill in appealing to the masses. He attempted to toot the inspirational trumpet once or twice, but it emitted a low, melancholy note. His trip to Potsdam was not a success and was not repeated. On domestic issues, as a speech-maker, Truman tried hard but was only fair at best. He used stiff, jerky gestures to accompany a flat, monotonous voice. He was much better in folksy, impromptu talks, but unfortunately these are ruled out for a President, who must always be on dress parade. Democratic leaders muzzled him altogether in the 1946 election and he never took the stump despite repeated stories that he would do so.

The heir to Roosevelt obviously had to follow a liberal line, but his declarations, with some exceptions, did not inflame either friend or foe. In fact it might as well be stated here that Truman's difficulty in creating strong passions, whether from supporters or opponents, is his greatest weakness. Why is it that a Theodore Roosevelt, a Wilson or an FDR can say things in a way to produce fanatical devotion or lifelong animosity, while another man utters substantially the same things and evokes only mild irritation or languid support? It is a matter of personality. This colorlessness of Truman, this wavering quality like a television image not quite in focus, has repeatedly weakened his ability to dramatize great, resounding issues which flowed from postwar events. One constantly felt that the issues were there; it was the leader who was lacking.

At any rate, the new President was in difficulties in no time at all. Capital and labor sprang at each other's throats,

---

Richard Lee Strout, for many years a Washington newspaper correspondent, writes frequently on American political developments for British periodicals.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after an uneasy wartime truce. Congress hurried to reëstablish its ascendency over the executive in the continual tug-of-war of the American governmental system. Russia began showing that suspicion of the West which came to seem almost psychopathic. The overthrow of wartime controls, first encouraged and then opposed by Truman, promptly developed into inflation.

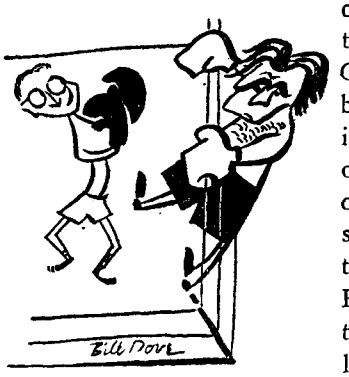
Some of these problems could have been avoided, given greater coöperation from Congress or a stronger stand in the White House. In postwar strikes Truman seemed to irritate labor and management alike. Again, Truman first led the way in the rush to demobilization and decontrol. At one point, with a sudden, stunning shock to Britain, he ended lend-lease. Congress responded with whoops of joy, and threw off controls, the excess-profits tax and the like, at breakneck speed. Thereupon Truman showed signs of alarm and tried to halt or slow down the process, notably in his defense of the OPA.

At the time of the OPA fight Truman had replaced most of the prominent New Dealers with his own group of advisers. They were frequently plodding conservatives, like Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, in marked contrast to the brilliant, if erratic, group of Roosevelt consorts. Chester Bowles, however, was left, and went into action with all his strength for a continuation of price controls. He had the President's support. Congress passed a bill crippling the OPA. Truman vetoed it. But then the President began to retreat. Under protest, he accepted another anti-OPA bill, not much different from the first. He asserted that it would be of little value as a control measure and that it would lead to higher prices, and time proved him right. But here, as in so many other cases, Truman failed to get the political benefit of his position as he would if he had nailed his colors to the mast. Shortly after this he abolished many remaining controls.

The pattern was repeated in the meat fight. The Republicans were making a furious issue over meat scarcity. Stock and cattlemen held supplies off the market in protest against price controls. It was virtually a strike, supported by many conservative newspapers and commentators. Just before the 1946 ("Had Enough?") election, Truman capitulated. He wiped out controls, evidently hoping this would curb the GOP tide. On the contrary, Republicans won a complete victory. They captured both houses of Congress.

There could be no doubt what this meant. It was a repudiation of the Truman Administration, a development which traditionally precedes the capture of the White House itself by the victorious party two years hence. Two years of divided control would mean indecision and stalemate as it had under Wilson and Hoover.

In the face of such a catastrophe Truman had two courses. One, proposed by Senator Fulbright (D, Ark.), was based on British procedure. It was to resign. In the absence of a Vice President, Truman could name a Republican as Secretary of State, who would become President on his own retirement. The nation would thereby escape two years of divided government and the Republicans would immediately assume that responsibility which the voters had clearly intended.



Truman promptly rejected this radical proposal, and took the other course —his one political hope. If he stepped up his liberal program, he might draw a sharp distinction between his policies and those of Congress. Judging by the past, the GOP would probably win in 1948, but Truman still had a chance by taking a militant attitude. Right at the outset of this second round, when his fortunes were at their lowest, Truman boldly took on John L. Lewis and knocked him clean out of the ring. If a bantamweight had floored Joe Louis, national surprise could not have been greater. The gyrating graph of presidential popularity started up again.

In the two years that have followed there has been no absolute deadlock between White House and Congress. But on issue after issue in the domestic field divided power has meant disagreement and drift. Veterans' houses went unbuilt, prices soared, social problems were ducked, tax decisions were delayed, inflation continued, and each side held the other responsible.

Truman never drew a battle line with Congress in the sense that Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt and FDR joyfully did. In his housing program, for example, he might have taken a militant course with appeals to the public and a real row with the legislature. It would have sent up the voters' blood pressure and brought back to Washington some of that "Roosevelt" tension that exists, under the American system, whenever a strong President tries to dominate Congress. Instead, Truman finally let able young Wilson Wyatt depart under circumstances that blurred another big issue.

Truman's attitude has tended to be one of sorrow rather than anger toward Congress, punctuated by a series of resounding vetoes that went off like big guns without much supporting small fire. So it was in the tax bills, the Taft-Hartley Act, the wool-tariff grab and the like. Truman's messages have been filled with authentic New Deal social recommendations, but few of these have been strongly pressed.

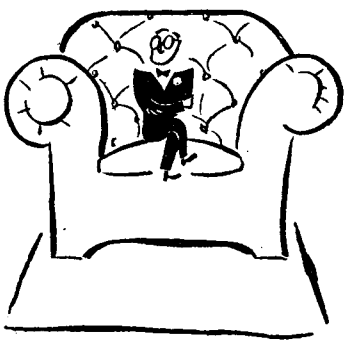
Disappointed liberals contrast the President's professions with his actions and appointees. A detached observer, Walter Lippmann, recently noted the Truman dilemma involving the rival elements within his party.

"Truman's solution of this conundrum," he wrote, "has been to get rid of the New Dealers and to be what in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact he really is—no New Dealer at all—but a politician who appreciates the voting strength of the Roosevelt combination."

Certainly such amiable mediocrities as George Allen, Commodore Vardaman and Major General Vaughan do not rouse supporters' fervor. Truman let men like Bowles and Wyatt slip from his Administration. He demoted Marriner Eccles as head of the Federal Reserve Board in favor of a Republican manufacturer, though Eccles was making a gallant fight for the Administration's own anti-inflation program. He refused to give any reason for the step. Truman's protracted love affair with Ed Pauley is a matter of history. He named him to three federal posts, and twice the selection ended in disaster.



One muses over the Pauley and other incidents with a feeling that Truman sometimes does not appreciate the big issues with which he deals. Pauley represented state ownership of tidelands oil, yet Truman picked him as Undersecretary of Navy when the government was battling for federal ownership. Truman denounced grain speculation, and Pauley was up to his neck in the commodity market.

On the porch at Reelfoot Lake, Tennessee, Truman casually told reporters the United States would keep the atomic bomb to itself and seemed surprised when correspondents dashed off with the news. Again, Truman has made a really remarkable botch of the Palestine issue, first favoring, then dynamiting, partition. Another instance: before ousting Wallace, he told a press conference he had read the draft of the Madison Square Garden speech and approved it in its entirety. It is difficult to see how he could have failed to grasp the significance of this Wallace attack on Byrnes's policy but, from his own statement, he did.

No President in history, of course, has failed to make mistakes which opponents could present in a ludicrous light. The picture emerges of President Truman as a well meaning man, struggling with problems more complex, perhaps, than those which bewildered any of his predecessors and doing his best in a job he never asked for. His constructive accomplishments deserve to be noted, along with his difficulties.

First of all, Truman's conciliatory policy toward Congress has helped to keep American foreign policy out of politics and has led to the passage of the Marshall Plan. This foreign policy has developed into, and been dominated by, a duel with the Soviet Union, which has deepened in intensity and become more open.

If you agree, on the whole, with the basic purposes of this foreign policy, as does the writer, then Truman's total score ranks considerably higher. I believe the President is supported in his program by the great bulk of the nation.

It is Truman's handicap that he has never been a dramatic figure and does not know how to be. He is a small man in a big chair. But he can be pushed only so far. He chose David E. Lilienthal as head of the civilian Atomic Energy Commission and stuck to him manfully against the prolonged, venomous attack of Senators like McKellar and Taft.

Truman took a surprise fall out of John L. Lewis, and might conceivably do so again. He has shown considerable gumption in resisting the demands of congressional witchhunters for secret FBI loyalty files.

He has taken the advice of his able Council of Economic Advisers, and proved himself right more often than not in differences with Congress over such matters.

Truman has probably lost votes by his stout resistance to tax reduction. But he believes it to be inflationary—has held his position, so far, to the admiration of a good many of the country's leading economists. His first two forceful vetoes may be followed by a third.

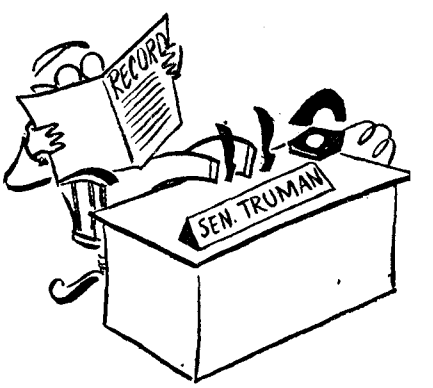
He has stuck boldly and manfully to his civil-rights program against attacks from the Southerners in his own party.

Again there is strong evidence that the humble folk who feel the burden of inflation most, put the blame for rising prices on Congress and look to the friendly little man in the White House as their protector.

It seems doubtful that the foregoing balance sheet will elect Truman next November. It is even uncertain whether he will get nominated at the rate the present Democratic schism is growing. His selection may depend on a factor which can give him little satisfaction, that the Democrats seem to have nobody else.

A good many independent voters are going to find their choice difficult this fall. Faced with a decision between a Republican flanked by tariff-hungry businessmen, a Henry Wallace who does not seem to be aware of the danger of Soviet imperialism, and the mixed record of Harry Truman, it will not be easy to choose.

If Truman is defeated, I hope that he will be back in Congress shortly as Senator from Missouri. In this post he was happy and valuable, and would be so again. Doughty old ex-President John Quincy Adams gave the nation good service from a seat in the House. A century later, ex-President Harry Truman might again grace the Senate, from which, in his own mind, he has never really severed himself.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICA'S UNEASY PROSPERITY

As the postwar boom hesitates, your job and future security depend upon the kind of program outlined by this well known economist **by ROBERT R. NATHAN**

AMERICAN BUSINESS is in a quandary. There are danger signals flying, and they point to a possible early end of our inflationary boom. Yet, except for some farm commodities and a few other items, the price inflation continues. Neither business nor government knows what to make of the outlook. Unhappily the result is likely to be complete inaction, which itself will hasten the event that all fear.

The needle that has prodded business into a reassessment of its position is obvious. It is the precipitous drop in certain farm-commodity prices that occurred more than a month ago. Improved crop prospects here and abroad were the principal reason for the break, which was the sharpest in 100 years. But other developments that have been a long time in the making are also catching alert business eyes.

One is the slow slipping in physical sales volume of certain necessities—shoes, women's dresses, and the like. Here declines have long been camouflaged by soaring dollar totals. Also luxury goods and services have been moving slowly and consumer resistance has mounted.

The second major indication of trouble ahead is the upsurge of consumer credit at a rate which cannot be indefinitely maintained. Expansion of bank credit and rising inventories round out the ominous picture of weakness in the present economic situation.

The commodity-price break brought these factors into sharp focus. Businessmen, government officials and labor leaders have been trying to calculate the outcome.

Robert R. Nathan, economic and business consultant, is the author of* National Income in the United States, 1929-35, *and* National Wage Policy for 1947. *He has held many important government posts, among which was the chairmanship of the Planning Committee of the War Production Board.

Such a break could cause uncertainty and precipitate sufficient retrenchment in other markets to bring about a general fall in employment and production—in short, a sharp recession. This effect is not now evident, and if the farm-price break doesn't prove too serious, it will have brought one healthy development. A sounder relationship between farm and non-farm prices is definitely emerging.

This question of balance is not academic. Inflation is not just high prices. It is the distortion between various prices, as much as their absolute level, which today makes for alarm. The housewife is aware that, relative to her income (even though it has increased considerably), the amount spent on food is far too high. The worker sees prices and profits well out of line with his ability to buy what he needs and what this country can produce in abundance.

The dramatic rise in food prices was a boon to the farmer. But he benefited at the expense of the urban wage earner and his family. The worker has been forced to devote a larger share of his income to food and thus to curtail expenditures in other lines—lines in which the farmer could not take up the resulting slack.

Such situations can't last—and everybody knows it. The termination of price controls permitted a worldwide scarcity to push food prices to fantastic levels. Now they are falling, and it isn't likely to be a smooth and painless process.

A similar distortion—and one that is even more serious—is the lack of balance between wages and profits. Again, this in part is a matter of price.

Take cotton-textile prices. Since 1939 they have risen an average of 215 percent at wholesale, more than twice the average of all wholesale prices. And last year, according to a compilation of the National City Bank, 35 large cotton-textile firms earned a profit equal to 41 percent of their capital investment.

High prices yielded these profits. Prices were raised even without wage increases. In case after case when wages were raised, prices were upped even more, thus pyramiding profits. High prices are curtailing the amount of goods consumers can buy. Surely this is another situation that cannot last, yet it prevails in industry after industry.

This state of affairs has led to the using up of savings and increased dependence on consumer credit for current purchases. There is, then, a real question as to whether the mass of American consumers today have sufficient buying power to take off the market the tremendous output of goods.

If and when consumption lags behind production, the present level of new investment will decline. Businessmen don't make investments for the fun of it; they do so only when market prospects are good. When investment falls off, employment in the capital-goods industries will sink with it.

The third round of wage increases since the end of the war is under way. It could be stemmed only by an immediate and very substantial drop in the cost of living. This is hardly a possibility—even with a continuing fall in farm prices. And even if it were a possibility, we should not like to see such a disruptive development.

A moderate price drop accompanied by reasonable wage increases, varying from industry to industry, is vastly preferable to the alternative of no wage increases and drastic price declines. Fortunately, there is no doubt that current profits in most industries and for the vast majority of companies could support wage increases without corresponding price increases and still provide an excellent return.

Orderly adjustments among prices, wages and profits are possible. But they cannot take place if the "do nothing" attitude of reactionary forces continues to prevail. It is ironic that the situation of grave distortions within the economy should have been brought about by those who cry most loudly for the pres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ervation of the competitive system. These very literal gentlemen ignore the clear evidence that inflation and deflation are powerful deterrents to individual rights, except perhaps the doubtful right of self-destruction. Fundamentally, the 1929-32 depression restricted free enterprise much more than all the New Deal and wartime regulations put together.

It may seem extreme to start talking in terms of the "great" depression at this time, but no one can deny that the economy has been under extreme pressures of an unstable character. Without some kind of planning to bring these forces into line, a bust is almost inevitable. We may have a mild one this time, but the attitudes and inaction which will have led to a recession can and will lead to a serious depression at a later date.

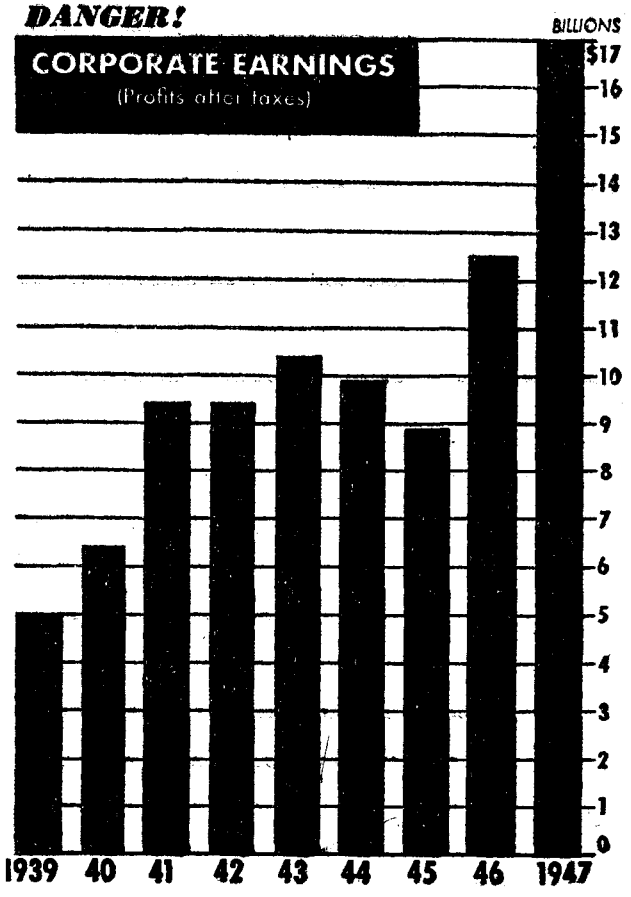
Even the most rugged individualist should agree that the absence of governmental action has been primarily responsible for allowing the inflation of the past two years to develop. It is not too late, however, for the government to step in and adopt a strong, positive program. This program should be designed to stem further inflation, to initiate orderly corrections and to avoid drastic readjustments.

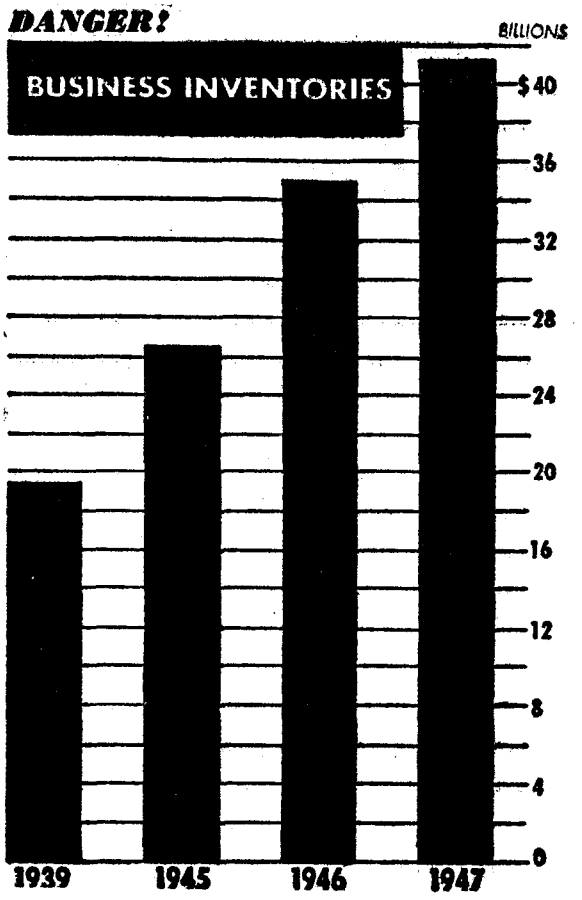
The unbalance between farm prices and other prices has been partially corrected by the commodity break. If the drop in commodity prices is not contagious and does not bring about reductions in prices of industrial products, then legislation should be enacted giving authority for control over prices to the executive branch of the government. This will be needed particularly in the coming months, when labor will seek to redress the balance between profits and consumer purchasing power. Without such controls, producers will try to perpetuate the present distortion by again raising prices. Legislation should be largely of a "stand-by" nature and be confined to those products which significantly influence the cost of living and threaten further inflation.

A continued inflationary situation would also require reënactment of instalment-credit controls. Over the past year or two, the rise in consumer credit enlarged an already excessive demand, and therefore helped to push prices up further. Unfortunately, many of those who purchase goods on instalment in boom times are severely hit when the break comes. It would be much more logical to encourage instalment buying during times of inadequate, rather than of excessive, demand.

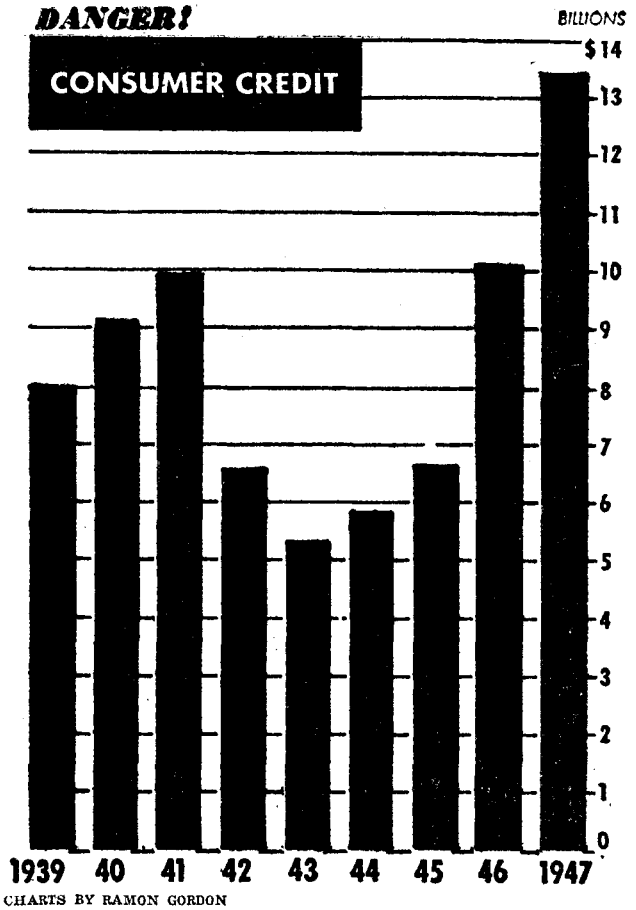
Another factor contributing to the inflationary picture has been the expansion of bank credit. The American Bankers' Association has proposed self-restraint and self-policing by the banks. This is a noble thought, but has little likelihood of success. Congress needs to provide authority to the Federal Reserve System along the lines proposed by Marriner S. Eccles when he was chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Such controls would be helpful in retarding inventory accumulation and preventing a new burst of speculative buying that could have serious ramifications.

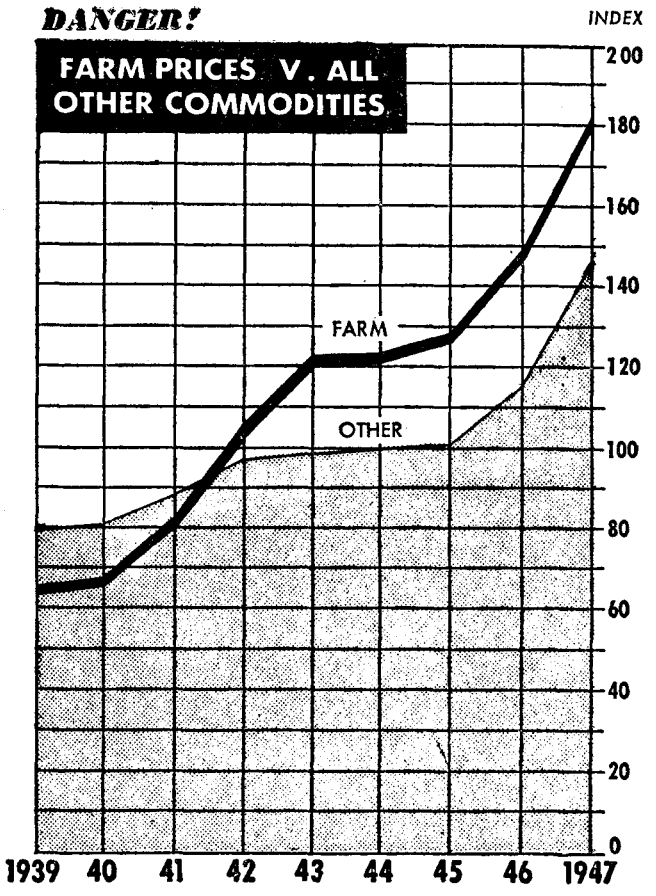
Our most powerful weapon in the





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





CHARTS BY RAMON GORDON

fight for a stable economy is the power to tax. Much can be done by varying the size of our tax revenues and the incidence of taxes on different income levels. As long as the present inflationary pattern prevails, it is desirable to shift part of the tax burden from the lower-income groups to excess corporate profits, but not to lower total taxes.

The opposite course, unfortunately, is being followed by the present Congress. A recent recommendation by a subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report to reinstate the excess-profits tax was turned down by the chairman of the full committee, Senator Taft. In addition, the present Republican-sponsored tax bill puts $4.8 billion into the pockets of consumers and investors at the same time that tremendously increased expenditures for military stockpiling, UMT and an expanded Air Force are planned. The recently gained budget surplus of $6 billion which could have been used to retire government securities and reduce bank-credit expansion will be wiped out.

Such a tax policy makes no sense at the present time, and in the light of the lack of judgment that has been demonstrated, it seems almost futile to discuss what should be done.

There is much more logic in cutting taxes once deflation sets in than to do so in the middle of an inflation. A program should be enacted which would permit tax reduction to begin as soon as there has been a specified decline in prices, production and employment. Such a tax cut should include a raising of the exemptions and moderate relief for the middle and high-income brackets. If a drop in business becomes severe, the cut in taxes should be greater. Taxes can thus be used as a vehicle for curtailing or increasing demand for goods and services as conditions dictate.

Another semi-automatic economy adjuster is the public-works program. Most government units from the federal government down to the local authorities have been confining their construction activities to bare essentials. This is a sound policy so long as shortages of materials and manpower prevail. Once private demand shows signs of shrinking, a shelf of public works should be ready to be got under way. Necessary and well planned public construction can help stem inflation and raise the standards of our education, health, transportation and administrative services.

None of this is an answer to the question, "Will we have a depression?" It is almost impossible to predict it in terms of time. But a continuation of present tendencies, with no planning to stem inflation or to buffer deflation, will inevitably wind up in a bust. Free enterprise does not mean that the government has no responsibility to guide and assist the economy. On the contrary, government must always act in the public interest. It must adopt policies and actions to assure full employment and provide the economic environment within which business can function effectively. That is the path toward survival of free enterprise. The "do nothing" policies of Senator Taft and the NAM lead the way to the death of free enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

NOSTALGIA FOR BISMARCK

by William Harlan Hale

THE GERMANY of the Kaisers was a "prodigy" wherein everything worked "to perfection." For its "stupendous" contributions to Western civilization, we owe Germany "a gigantic debt." Far from having helped to bring on the First World War, Germany's role was one of "comparative innocence." Prussia remained Germany's "bulwark of democracy." German secret rearmament after Versailles was "utterly harmless militarily." And as for the second world conflict in which Germany became involved, "the German people were Hitler's first victim."

Now, the German nation is "ruined." In the American zone alone, "hundreds of thousands of innocents" have been caught in "the crude process of denazification and war crime prosecution." The victors' initial policies of coming down hard on the defeated Reich were "amazing" and "notorious"; the Potsdam Agreement was "barbaric"; American statesmen are "one-dimensional" (as against the "giant" Bismarck, who was three-dimensional) and "do not know history"; Allied "amateurs" have presumed to interfere with German "property rights," and Americans have gone so far as to make Germans carry identification cards—thus subjecting them to something which can only be described as "perpetual hell."

Who is this talking?

Not a German bitter-ender, writing for home consumption, but an American citizen, the late Gustav Stolper, whom Herbert Hoover chose last year to accompany his top-level mission to Germany as economic adviser.

Stolper's advice was listened to in high places. The report to President Truman which he helped Hoover draw up won approbation from many congressmen. That is why one cannot ignore his *German Realities* (Reynal and Hitchcock; $3.75)—which also bears the jacket subtitle, "A Guide to the Future Peace of Europe."

Taking Stolper as a guide, we come out with the thesis that "the future of Germany is the future of European liberty." This means that we should set our western half of Germany free—first economically and then politically. The stronger western Germany becomes, the more we can count on it as a friend and buffer against the Soviet East. Is there any danger in letting western Germany become too strong? Not so far as Stolper can see. "Germany's military history is at an end," he says categorically; "this is final." So much for that.

The US and British governments have already gone far toward such a policy of German economic revival as Stolper advocates. Why they have done this adds up to a complex story. Political calculations, business pressures and sincere humanitarianism have all played their part—along with a Soviet intransigence that deprived crowded, western industrial Germany of its normal food supply from the East Prussian breadbasket and thus left the US shouldering a huge burden of subsidy.

As a result, most of us today have been forced to accept the idea that western Germany should become economically self-supporting. But we have wanted to make sure that it wouldn't support itself by means of a heavy concentration of potential arms industries.

This is where Stolper differs. He approves the concentration, wants these industries to expand and doesn't see any point in "economic disarmament." So long as Germany doesn't actually have an army, everything is safe.

Formerly a Rightist representative of Hamburg in the German Reichstag, Stolper has strong views on this subject. German businessmen will make it safe, he argues, if we let them have their way. We should stop worrying about German cartels, go easy on denazification (since it has deprived Germany of "bitterly needed" managerial and financial talent) and, above all, keep the French from internationalizing Ruhr industry and the British from socializing it.

Stolper speaks angrily of US occupation forces as having been "ordered to carry out measures of a class warfare such as only Soviet Russia had ever designed." By this he means our early policy of carefully scrutinizing all German industrialists on suspicion that they gave substantial support to the Nazis. They didn't, he asserts—or at least, they didn't mean it. In spite of the contributions they made to Hitler's party chest, apparently they were interested neither in him nor in armaments. Most of the Ruhr magnates were a species "without political judgment"—and besides, they were "the most expert, devoted art collectors."

The same sort of song was sung soon after the First World War, when the chorus of historical "revisionists" and German propagandists got together to try to reverse the verdict of Versailles. That time their line was that the Germans were a dumb but essentially innocent folk who had been tricked by Allied diplomacy and then stabbed in the back by home-front radicals. This time their line is that the Germans are still dumb, still innocent, still helpless under trickery and suffering from a stab in the back administered by that dreadful foreigner, Hitler.

It may sound like a cockeyed line, but in a demoralized world it seems to work.

It will work less effectively, though, on those who have read David Rodnick's calm, withering reminder, *Postwar Germans* (Yale University Press; $3.75). Rodnick is an anthropologist

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who has done work on American Indians and went to postwar Germany to look into the lives of the Teuton tribes. His book is brief, limited in its sampling, but shrewd in its methods and objective in its results. A few quotations may serve:

Of 151 individuals [whom Rodnick and his wife interviewed at length in two typical Hessian communities] we estimate that about 110 sympathized with the Nazi program between 1933 and 1942. . . . Only 10 had been consistently anti-Nazi . . . ; and of these 10 only 6 could be termed democratic in any broad humanitarian sense.

Almost everyone we interviewed in the [educated upper-class] group was identified in one way or another with Nazism.

Most German children consider a Führer necessary for Germany.

The young resist passively attempts to indoctrinate them in political democracy. They have learned to use the term "democratic" in an entirely new sense. Democracy implies to them the right of Germans to do as they please . . . and the means whereby German nationalism can be defended by impugning the motives of all those who do not share their extreme nationalistic concepts.

Could it be that the German young have been reading Gustav Stolper?

ACROSS THE LINE

LOST BOUNDARIES, by W. L. White (Harcourt, Brace and Company; $1.50).

HAVING REPORTED, somewhat uncomfortably, on the state of things in Germany and Russia, W. L. White comes back to his own country for his latest study in the problems of democracy. The return is a most happy one. *Lost Boundaries* is a short book, but within that brief space he has written a masterpiece of insight, intelligence and unsentimental compassion.

It is a true story (and the principal characters are specifically identified) that covers the entire field of Negro-white relationship without ever forcing the issues, going in for overemphasis or losing its air of clear intelligence. It combines factual, objective reporting with the emotional power of superb story-telling.

There have been innumerable plays and novels on race prejudice in America, but none has possessed the emotional impact, honesty and analytical depth of White's book. Into his quiet-voiced, factual account of a New England schoolboy, who at the age of sixteen was told by his parents that he was Negro and that they had been "passing" as white, the author has packed a jolting amount of truth on the meaning of intolerance.

Essentially, this is the story of the boy's efforts to adjust himself to a fact that changed his whole world. Up to the time that his father revealed the secret, young Albert Johnston Jr. had lived the normal life of an American boy in a small and friendly New Hampshire community. At first his secret somewhat exhilarated and excited him. Later, when he was in the Navy, it caused a nervous breakdown, and he was discharged as a "psychoneurotic unclassified."

After his recovery Albert really began to learn the meaning of his bitter, new place in a white man's world. With a white school friend, Walt, who had a complete scorn of racial differences, Albert traveled across America to find out things for himself. He lived in Negro districts, sometimes trying to make a place for himself in both worlds at once, yet always striving to establish status as an American.

If young Albert Johnston and his "passing" father and mother are the central figures of the book, it is Albert's traveling companion, Walt, who is its most comforting character for non-Negro readers. Walt simply didn't recognize the existence of prejudice, and his attitude toward race relations was completely matter-of-fact. He didn't possess that quality of "overpoliteness" which results from a sense of guilt, and which Negroes encounter, according to White, as often as they do open prejudice.

When Albert told Walt his secret, he merely said: "All right, so you're part colored. But what difference does it make? Why are you so worked up about it?" And he meant it. In the beginning, Albert found his friend's complete lack of interest almost disappointing; but later it seemed as if he had put down a huge load that he had been carrying about with him for more than a year.

If the author presents with fine clarity the direct results of the white man's prejudice, he is equally frank in presenting its more subtle and indirect side—the counter prejudice of the Negro. In Los Angeles, Albert was attracted to Helene, a Negro girl, and she seemed interested until she discovered that he was trying to find a place for himself in both worlds, that he would not completely accept his Negro status.

Then there was the prejudice within prejudice. "I also found," Albert told White, "that light-colored Negroes are often prejudiced against darker ones. . . . The majority of Negro political leaders are light. People try to say that this is because they are smarter, because of their mixed blood. But . . . it is only because, in any difficulty with the whites, Negroes still send a light-skinned one to negotiate because they have found it easier for him to approach the whites."

The custom of "passing," White says, is greatly on the increase, even in the South, where many thousands of people successfully conceal their Negro blood. He discovered that Negroes will condone those who "pass" to get an education or hold a job, but only if they spend their social life with their own people. They bitterly resent those who desert their race to spend all their time with the whites.

Albert came out of his ordeal without a scar, but his father believes that in recent years there has been a regression in race relations. "In general," he told White, "there is more prejudice in America, although it is not legalized, than there was 25 years ago, although in the fields of art, literature and sports it is much better, and among actors, painters, musi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cians and writers the Negro finds almost no prejudice."

One of the virtues of *Lost Boundaries* is that it makes even those who are most convinced that they have done away with prejudice examine their own consciences. RICHARD WATTS JR.

WORTH REPRINTING

THE THINKING REED, by Rebecca West (The World Publishing Company; $1).

AMONG THE NATIONS, edited by Ludwig Lewisohn (Farrar, Straus and Company; $3).

REBECCA WEST enjoys distinction of a kind as the First Sob Sister of the Press. "On great days of crime and happiness," to borrow a phrase from a daily newspaper, she has a talent for the detail and the tone to decorate an occasion—whether the trial of a lynch mob or the wedding of a princess—with a noble pathos.

I had never read any of Miss West's novels, but they are esteemed by people whose judgment I respect. *The Thinking Reed* came, therefore, as a shock. Briefly, Isabelle "was beautiful, she was nearly exceedingly rich," and "people liked meeting her" because of her descent from "an Orleanist family which had never lost its French character" in Saint Louis, Missouri.

This novel, originally published in 1936, is an extended account of the first few years of her marriage to a French industrialist. It traipses through the usual scenes in Paris, Cannes, and expensive sanatoriums, and although its sole purpose seems to be to display these gilded haunts, it never gets closer to them than the dim remove of other cheap fiction. The narrative is of the same class, a vulgar daydream of "rich people" from which Miss West wakes occasionally to explain that she is writing about "a society that was itself a miscarriage, that had not cohered into a culture or a civilization, that could not cohere into even the simplest pattern."

It would, however, be a mistake to assume that the book is a criticism of that society; these passages are merely a penance the author performs between references to "such good lust." Which, like everything else in the book, we must take on her word. For Isabelle is a girl "who had not troubled with abstract thought since she had left the Sorbonne," and she reaches the limits of the particular when she reflects of her lover during the throes of passion: "He was the kind of barbarian that Rome could absorb; that was what made all the greatness of Rome."

Ludwig Lewisohn in his introduction to *Among the Nations,* quotes the Jewish historian, Josephus: "I shall prove that the defamers of our race are altogether absurd." As his contribution to this proof Lewisohn has selected a story by Somerset Maugham, one by Jacques de Lacretelle, a play by Galsworthy and an excerpt from Thomas Mann's *Joseph the Provider.*

If such a book were feasible, he had done better to print Jewish writers. The Gentile is constrained to substitute a hero for the villain of the anti-Semitic myths, or, what is worse, apologize for the Jew as a kind of special creature.

That sort of condescension, underlying Maugham's story, demonstrates better than any of the other pieces the problem for the writer and the ineffectiveness of this type of book. For Maugham, the Jew is admissible (and admirable) as an exotic figure; the man-about-town of his story displays "a certain barbaric magnificence" in his dress, and in his person "a faint savor of Oriental romance." On the other hand, when a young, Anglicized Jew wants to ally himself with his people, he means "the frowsy old men with their hooked noses, the fat women with their false hair. I felt such a sympathy for them. . . . I like the smell of the Ghetto . . . the squalor and the romance."

It would be silly to carp at Maugham's sentiments or intentions. Lewisohn selects his story as an apology for the Jew, but it merely demonstrates the oblique anti-Semitism of the society hostesses in the story, some of whose best friends are Jews—and for only too good reasons.

JOHN FARRELLY

BANDWAGON

The New Freedom

Premier Themistocles Sophoulis said tonight that "absolute freedom of the press" exists in Greece, but that any Greek correspondent who criticizes the current wave of arrests, deportations and executions will be jailed.—*From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Oo, la-la!

You really have seen only half the show, if you see the Paris imports worn on the mannequins alone. There is almost double the excitement in looking under and inside the clothes.—*From* Women's Wear Daily.

Both Barrels

This Week Specials
20% Off
ON BIBLES
and
Books on Guns

—*Advertisement in the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Ex-Post Facto

The Un-American Activities Committee, which announced during the week that it had turned loose all of its investigators on the Condon matter, after it had published its denunciation of him, is preparing for public hearings on Dr. Condon's loyalty.—*From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Phew!

PRESIDENT TRUMAN
TO GET SMELT

—*Headline in the Tacoma* News Tribune.

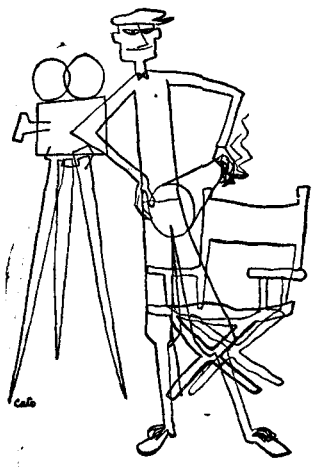
Upper-Dog Department

Our Dumb Animals, magazine of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, is crusading to have each state adopt an official dog (as well as flower and bird). It argues that the 20 million dogs in the United States are entitled to such representation. "Just think," the editor said, in summation, "if these dogs could vote, what a voice they would have in government!"—*From the Chicago* Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings.—The Editors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOVIES: Mixed Feelings



WHAT GOES ON in the new Italian film, "Angelina," looks at this distance very much like funny business. I am told that in Rome its director, Luigi Zampa, is dismissed as an amiable box-office hack with no great artistic skill and as little political conviction. He turned out films happily under the Fascists, gets along fine at present, and could presumably accommodate himself gracefully to the Communists, if they took over. Much the same judgment is passed on Piero Tellini, the "Angelina" script writer.

Zampa and Tellini also worked on "To Live in Peace," so if they are hacks it is only because the Italians today can afford to be movie perfectionists. In this country, a picture as good as "To Live in Peace" would establish a director or a writer for life—it might even win them Oscars. But the evidence of "Angelina" seems to bear out the theory that politically Zampa and Tellini are not quite bright.

The story starts off fairly simply with a group of Roman slum women, led by Angelina (Anna Magnani), running berserk in good suffragette fashion, and obtaining by force, threats and high-pitched screaming the spaghetti, housing, transportation and other necessities their milder husbands had been unable to coerce from a laggard bureaucracy. Much of this is good; in the person of Anna Magnani, of "Open City," it is superb.

But about halfway through, the plot begins to thicken. A horrid industrialist, whose apartments the Angelinites have taken over, attempts to break up the group; first by threatening the leader, then by attempting to bribe her, and finally by throwing her into jail. Meanwhile, his son has met her daughter, and the boy, revolted by his father's avarice, runs off to be an architect. This brings the old man to his senses: he frees Angelina, smiles on the squatters in his house, and presumably blesses the marriage.

Angelina returns in triumph and among the cries of "Speech, speech!" there's a good deal of talk about running her for deputy. She makes a speech—to the effect that a woman's home is her chamber of deputies, that her husband is her law, and her children her only badges of honor. The picture closes with Angelina and her family back in the same old hovel, worrying about the same old debts.

In Italy, both rightists and Communists have protested this film, a combination which would seem to cancel out. In the same way, "Angelina" itself, with its abrupt shift from direct action to fireside and the cradle and with the most implausible capitalist since William S. Hart saved a mortgaged homestead, adds up to nothing. Or not quite nothing—there is still the wonderful Anna Magnani.

Amid the mild humor and construction details of "Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House," I find myself most struck by the extraordinary burden of work carried by the gentleman himself (Cary Grant) in his advertising career. Here is a junior executive employed at $15,000 a year, provided with a secretary and a sofa-strewn office, whose sole task for a six-month period is the creation of a one-line slogan for a synthetically smoked ham. It seems like niggardly use of expensive talent, particularly since at the zero hour the ham slogan is provided by the Blandings' Aunt Jemima cook.

The film provides the further information that building estimates are commonly revised upward and that married life with Myrna Loy is a combination of wisecrack humor and connubial eroticism. Moviegoers who have already discovered these facts for themselves may want to seek their entertainment elsewhere.

In "Sitting Pretty," Twentieth Century-Fox has constructed a funny (but not nearly as funny as advertised) picture around that new and already threadbare figure of stock comedy, the baby sitter.

The picture belongs almost entirely to Clifton Webb, who plays a combination of the Admirable Crichton and the man who came to dinner with old-maid overtones of his own. He is revealed from time to time to be an accomplished dog trainer, locksmith, bone surgeon, novelist, cook, practitioner of yoga, and describes himself simply as a genius. Curiously, Webb's one genuine special talent, dancing, is displayed here to very poor advantage.

Robert Young and Maureen O'Hara, as the parents, give one of those Hollywood demonstrations of married love that seem to confirm everything the Europeans have told us is wrong with the American male. They kiss at breakfast, they kiss at supper, and otherwise you can't tell daddy from the other kids. Richard Haydn, the monologist, spells Webb now and again as relief comedian. His monomania this time is the cross-breeding of iris—a good, if somewhat bawdy, outlet for his prissy talent.

The US Navy is showing these days a short film, "The Zipper Fleet," that describes the tender care being given those segments of our Atlantic and Pacific fleets now idle in port. It is a nostalgic and melancholy picture; nostalgic for the great names—Saipan, Okinawa, Tarawa, Normandy (Pearl Harbor is not recalled); melancholy because there is something inescapably touching about a gallant and powerful vessel chafing at dockside. It's a great comfort, though, to know that these

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ships are ready, at a moment's notice, to wake from their enchanted sleep and steam off to new glorious adventures. They can hardly wait.

The day I saw it, this little documentary was coupled with a newsreel in which Secretary Marshall warned us to keep calm, former Secretary Byrnes warned us to keep strong, and the announcer warned Russia to keep her nose clean.

The audience applauded enthusiastically and flexed its muscles.

ROBERT HATCH

THEATER: American Pattern

THE DIFFICULTY with "Joy to the World" is not in its resemblance to "Once in a Lifetime," but in its difference. "Once in a Lifetime" was not a satire; it was a dramatization of the jokes about Hollywood. "Joy to the World" aims to be a comedy about the danger of censorship that threatens the movie industry. It is actually a defense of Hollywood. What it says in effect is that though Hollywood may be run by a lot of children with the heebie-jeebies and a million dollars, these same children can do good work and may grow up some day to do better if they are not molested by less innocent characters in the finance department of the New York offices or politicians in Washington or crackpots in pseudo-religious circles. Now, this, say what you will, is a serious idea.

Allan Scott, the playwright, being a shrewd craftsman, realizes that the best way to put over his message to an unaware or frightened public without causing embarrassment to those already on his side, is to write a piece of out-and-out entertainment. The message must be made funny; it must hurt nobody.

Scott's dilemma is typical rather than individual. There are hundreds of American writers today concerned with the problem of how to make a liberal or progressive point of view palatable to people who may be neither. Most such attempts are failures, but the more suave technicians manage quite well: their plays or pictures are box-office; they please practically everyone—including the bad men of the banks. Thus one may eat one's cake and have it.

In "Joy to the World" the issue is uncertain. There have been complaints that it is spoiled by its seriousness (this may be an evasion), and there have been complaints that it is not serious enough. If it were wholly serious, however, we should have had another play, one that might conceivably never have reached Broadway at all.

As I watched the present production I recalled my first contact with the better residential sections of Hollywood. Here was sunlight, cleanliness, fragrance, luxury, calm, urban efficiency, and palms. I was enraptured. When time made these benefits pall, when dissatisfaction stirred in my soul, I felt almost ashamed, as if I had become a stranger to my people.

"Joy to the World" is slick, smooth, swift and smart. The company that plays it is amiable; a good word might be said about practically every member of the cast. The gags are funny, the plot is not implausible—its particular incidents are almost literal—the intention and comment of the entire play are worthy.

Yet from almost the outset, a curtain,

FOLKS LIKE THEM!
SELL'S LIVER PÂTÉ
SELL'S CORNED BEEF LOAF

your grocer has them
GET SOME TODAY!

WRITING COURSE

THE BEST WAY TO GET STARTED
WRITING FOR MAGAZINES
Develop the writing habit under the personal direction of an experienced writer or editor

THE MAGAZINE INSTITUTE, a private school completely owned and operated by successful editors and writers, offers a series of fascinating assignments designed to get you started and keep you writing. They are sent regularly to your home, where you work on them in spare time. They give you a chance to polish your style the way professional writers polished theirs—by writing continually.

You may concentrate on either short story or article work, advancing as rapidly as your ability warrants. Every assignment you submit is returned with detailed criticism.

Canadians may make tuition payments in Canadian funds. Fill in coupon and mail today.

VETERANS:
THIS COURSE APPROVED FOR VETERANS' TRAINING

THE MAGAZINE INSTITUTE, Inc.
Dept. 44, 30 Rockefeller Plaza,
Rockefeller Center, New York 20, N. Y.
Please send free catalog, without obligation, to:
Name .....
Address .....
.....
☐ Check here if eligible under G.I. Bill
(*Inquiries confidential. No salesman will call*)

JUST RECORDS
ALCO and CHARTER
Political Recordings

Henry WALLACE Mad. Sq. Garden Speech	$2.58
Katherine HEPBURN PCA Address	2.58
Earl ROBINSON: Free and Equal Blues....	1.58
Unity Rhumba and Red Boogie	1.05
The Elephant and the Ass & Travellin'	1.05
Walk in Peace (Sir Launcelot) Album	2.60

Outstanding New Record Review "Just Records" $1.00 per year. Write for sample issue.
Address Dept. NR-8
Records shipped to any part of the world—Express Collect. For the HARD-TO-FIND Recording Write, Phone or Visit.
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP 9 East 44th Street New York 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-6154

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have just received a list of

100 SPANISH EXILES

who need help, sent us by the Spanish Labor Unions in exile.
Are there 100 readers who will each adopt a name? Here is a simple way to help:
Write for a name and address and send food directly.
Or contribute for CARE food packages.

International Solidarity Committee
303 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 10, N. Y.

☐ Please send me a name and address and shipping instructions.

☐ Enclosed $..... for CARE food packages.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone..... State.....

BOOKS

ROOSEVELTIANA
Franklin D. Roosevelt Bookania
P. O. Box 813 Chicago 90, Illinois

BOOKS TOO EXPENSIVE? Choose your own and save 25%. Order any book you wish (except texts and technical books). Pay after you get it. Receive 25% credit on its price. Do this four times. Then use your credit for further books. Send for brochure, or order now. BONUS BOOK CLUB, Inc., Dept. A-7, 61 W. 56th St., New York 19, N. Y.

HOME WANTED

Charming, intelligent boy of seven, needs warm friendly home. Address: Box 69, The New Republic.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. Save time, work, money. Linguaphone Correspondence Courses are available to Veterans under G. I. BILL OF RIGHTS. Send for FREE book. State if G. I. *Linguaphone Institute, 86 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.*

MAPLE SYRUP

PURE VERMONT MAPLE SYRUP. Gallon $7.50. Quart $2.25. Prepaid Third Zone. The Graniches, Wilmington, Vermont.

POSITIONS WANTED

BROADCASTING for the government completely inhibits my naturally liberal tendencies causing me to seek greener fields . . . possibly a little progressive writing or allied activity. Personal-liberal British contacts cause me to consider a U.K. assignment, providing it held more than general interest. Address: Box 70, The New Republic.

SECRETARY-STENOGRAPHER, college, interested writing, magazine experience, capable, good job. Box 68, The New Republic.

High School Teacher, young, progressive-minded, wants challenging position for summer. Howard Cole, Whittemore, Michigan.

RESEARCH

YOUR RESEARCH ASSISTANT: Investigating any problem in the fields of psychology, sociology, economics. Preparation of articles, speeches. Broad European-American experience. E. P. Hillpern, 14 East 80th Street, New York City 21.

TYPING

MANUSCRIPTS AND THESIS TYPING, intelligent, inexpensive. Ambassador Office Service, 17 East 48th St., N. Y. C., PL 3-1364.

TYPING: EDITING—Manuscript expert, wide background, does it really intelligently. Scholars' recommendations. WO 2-5827 or Box 71, The New Republic.

like a rich glaze, seemed to cut me off from the stage. I felt anesthetized. Nothing was quite alive—not even in terms of farce. I saw the audience laughing and could not blame it. Its enjoyment seemed entirely justified. I sympathized thoroughly with the feeling of ease and satisfaction that I observed about me as my neighbors gazed at the opulent set. Was this not akin to the pleasure we all take in the ads of our fashion magazines, the displays in our swank shops, the art and fiction of our clever weeklies?

Why did "Joy to the World" remind me of those splendid pieces of fruit one sees in Hollywood markets, beautiful fruit that is so remarkably tasteless? Why did the central character, and almost all the others, seem to have no identity? Perhaps because liberalism alone does not create. It does not define values; it does not situate truth; it does not communicate experience; it does not make its point of view *felt.*

Humanly and morally, we are left in the dark for want of a point of reference. Therefore we cannot tell whether the movie producer in the play is a genius, a heel, a tailor's dummy, or a good fellow like the actor who plays him. Is his Ph.D. sweetheart an intellectual, a moron, or a tart? By some extraordinary process, life and everything that contributes to it have been frozen into a kind of theatrical jello. Activity and movement have become no more than postures.

This is the miracle of practical art. And it works. "Joy to the World" is modeled on an American pattern of ethical thinking which we all accept. It is even supposed to improve us. Does it? Let the world bear witness.

HAROLD CLURMAN

TELEVISION: Historic Weekend

OVERNIGHT, television grew up. Credit James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, with a strategic assist. But for heart-warming delivery, give a big hand to NBC.

It all happened fast. On a Thursday, a new contract was signed between the networks and the AFM. Several weeks earlier, broadcasters had already stopped calling Petrillo by his unsavory, dictatorial middle name of Caesar. He became their "Jimmy" as soon as he permitted them to feed musical programs originating on AM (standard) broadcasts to FM transmitters. But on March 18, he signed the new agreement for a three-year term, and not only was the FM dispensation put into writing, television was also included. Petrillo's ban against the appearance of his AFM members before the video cameras had at last been lifted.

There was genuine relief, and some horseplay. NBC's general counsel handed Petrillo a trumpet, the instrument that entitles the AFM chief to membership in the musicians' union. Petrillo blew a single, symbolic note; photographers took pictures. The laughter almost drowned out the cynical murmurings of a trade-press reporter who came up with a Biblical reference to "Jacob's voice, but the hands . . . of Esau." However, my colleague may have been unduly caustic. For within little more than 48 hours, NBC came through with a television show which proved not only that Petrillo had really liberated the new art but also that the most powerful of our networks was ready to get the most out of the opportunity.

As soon as the contract ink was dry, NBC announced that it would televise that Saturday night's broadcast of the regular weekly symphony concert, with Arturo Toscanini conducting an all-Wagner program. Twenty-four hours later, WCAU-TV, Philadelphia, announced it would televise the Philadelphia Orchestra. WCAU is a CBS affiliate. The Philadelphia is on the air Saturdays at five, an hour and a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

half earlier than the NBC Symphony. Clearly, CBS was stealing NBC's credit for a "first."

CBS did win the time race. But that was all it got. WCAU-TV had gone on the air only two weeks before this broadcast. It had not as yet any of the special (image orthicon) cameras needed to shoot non-studio scenes. CBS shipped three of those cameras down from New York, made other hurried arrangements, and Eugene Ormandy had the honor of leading the first symphony orchestra ever televised. The camera work was static; the novelty of seeing the musicians, and observing with surprise that Ormandy was photogenic, wore off after a few minutes. I had the definite feeling that the televising of a fine orchestra's work detracted from the effect of the music itself.

I left after a bit to check up on the bars in the neighborhood. I can report that the three grills I visited had their television sets shut off. Clearly, Ormandy would never run ahead of a wrestling match or a hockey game in the video Hooperatings along the café circuit.

My doubts about the value of television for symphony broadcasts were dispelled when NBC tackled the job. Toscanini's own personality may have been a powerful influence, but the camera work was so skillful and thoroughly integrated with the music that the concert clearly took on an extra dimension. Here was the payoff for NBC's long period of experimentation with the possibilities of television programming.

There had been no rehearsal of the crews working with the orchestra, but NBC's cameras knew every moment of that hour where they were going and why. The technical director either knew the scores or had an understanding musician at his side. He directed his shots at relevant sections of the orchestra, and at the conductor, alternating dynamically and spotlighting effects.

The most exciting camera work was done during the last couple of minutes of the closing number, the Ride of the Valkyries from "Die Walküre." Against the rising crescendi of the music, the cameras built their own powerful effects. For a full two minutes, the cameras brought a double image to the television viewing tube. One camera looked head-on at the orchestra, showing the ensemble with the conductor's back to the audience. The second camera, set behind the tympani, picked up Toscanini's face and hands, superimposing this image on the full-view. This montage was held, faded, built, dissolved and rebuilt until the very end. As the orchestra hit its last note, the full-view was cut—leaving Toscanini's fervent facial and hand gestures as the video-viewer's final impression.

Everybody hopes that live music will give the expanding television industry the programming hypodermic it needs. Twenty television stations are on the air now (in 12 cities) and 72 more are under construction. Technical progress, however, has thus far outrun content.

I think, when it completes its new super-duper studios in New York, CBS will have something to show in television comparable to the excellent work it performs so frequently in radio. Certainly by the time large television networks are hooked up, covering broad areas, there should be some good shows to hold the increasing number of spectators (estimated at no more than about one million now, at five to a set).

The Toscanini première had at least intrinsic value—which cannot be said for radio's big historic "first." That one was done in 1920 by KDKA, Pittsburgh. Its achievement: a report that Warren G. Harding had been elected!

The FCC has ordered an investigation into charges of news-slanting, reported here last week, lodged against G. A. Richards, owner of three ultra-powerful stations. The inquiry will include not only KMPC, Los Angeles, where the accusations originated, but also Richards' two other outlets, WJR, Detroit, and WGAR, Cleveland.

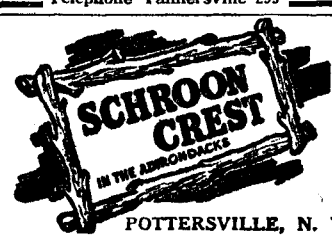
SAUL CARSON

MOTION PICTURE

ALAN LADD ★ VERONICA LAKE
"SAIGON"
A Paramount Picture
— IN PERSON —
THE MILLS BROTHERS
DEAN MURPHY
THE COLSTONS
Extra
BUDDY RICH and His Orchestra
NOW TIMES SQUARE PARAMOUNT Midnight Feature Nightly

RESORTS

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR—FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious food. Easy transportation. American-Jewish cooking.
Attractive Spring rates
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299



POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
An Informal Adult Camp on Schroon Lake

CHILDREN'S CAMP

LILLIPUT
Progressive Junior Camp
Established 1928 Co-educational
Pine Hill, N. Y. *Non-Competitive. Non-Sectarian*
Lower camp, ages 3 to 6. Upper camp, ages 6 to 11
Under Personal Supervision of Miriam Singer
Educational Director of Pickwick School
151-15 85th Drive, Jamaica Hills, N. Y. JA 6-1340

BLADES

100 DOUBLE-EDGED RAZOR BLADES $1.00. Save on shaves. Satisfaction guaranteed. Send $1.00 to Gotham Distributors, P. O. Box 114, New York 28, N. Y.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—POPULAR BRANDS. $1.43 per carton. Minimum 3 cartons — orders shipped postpaid insured on day received. Send check, money order: P. X. SALES, 287 14th Avenue, Newark 3, N. J.

CIGARETTES — FAMOUS BRANDS $1.43 a carton postpaid. Send check or money order to MASON'S Reliable Service, 431 S. 14th St., Newark 3, N. J. Minimum 3 cartons.

FARMS & ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y. Farms and estates, Massachusetts-New York Berkshires (Tanglewood Country). Consulting broker for organizations.

"GOOD NEIGHBORS" WANTED

CHOICE ACRES are offered much below developer's prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, New York, Tel. 2515-M.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors; psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, or mail. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"TO ALL WHO CARE ABOUT TOMORROW"

Out of the welter of words and politics comes an incomparable book, clear and commanding: "OUR PLUNDERED PLANET", *by Fairfield Osborn.*

This is its subject: Man's war against Nature. Its message: The earth's resources are running out. Its moral: We must work together—all people, all nations—to survive.

Man's conflict with Nature (which Fairfield Osborn calls "the silent war") is a struggle even more deadly than atomic warfare. It is, in fact, the father of all wars, and could render our good earth as dead as the moon.

Through greedy centuries, man has plundered the earth. He has used up the topsoil, stripped bare the forests, killed off the animal life. Now, asks Mr. Osborn, do we want to survive as a nation and a civilization?

It is not a theoretical question. "The tide of the earth's population is rising, the reservoir of the earth's living resources is falling." Page after page, Mr. Osborn, eminent President of the New York Zoological Society, builds up his incriminating case against man's wanton destruction. He chronicles the past and present of Nature-and-Humanity, and reveals, for perhaps the first time, the shocking state of our own country, "the country of the great illusion", that "can feed the world", with its diminishing public lands and the pressure groups who control them.

" 'Our Plundered Planet' is more than a book," writes Robert Maynard Hutchins in THE BOOK FIND NEWS. "It is a creed."

Writes Eleanor Roosevelt: "('Our Plundered Planet') should go not only to the people of our country but to the people of the world."

Says Louis Bromfield: "I can think of no book of greater importance at this time."

Just fill in the coupon and mail

THE BOOK FIND CLUB
401 Broadway, New York 13, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of The Book Find Club and send me as my first Selection and my FREE Gift Book the title I have indicated below. I agree to purchase a total of 4 Selections each year at the SPECIAL MEMBERSHIP RATE OF ONLY $1.65 A BOOK (plus 14¢ postage and handling). I may cancel my subscription at any time after purchasing 4 Selections.

AS MY FIRST PURCHASE PLEASE SEND ME

☐ OUR PLUNDERED PLANET
by Fairfield Osborn

OR

.....
(Select one of the books listed at right)

AS MY FREE GIFT BOOK PLEASE SEND ME

.....
(Select one of the books listed at right)

.....
NAME

.....
ADDRESS

.....
CITY ZONE NO. STATE

NR-4

The selection of *Our Plundered Planet*, by Fairfield Osborn, is another landmark in the literary history of The Book Find Club. Since the Club was founded, six years ago, it has endeavored to bring to its members the best fiction and non-fiction at the lowest possible price. Books such as *Stendhal*, by Matthew Josephson, *The Times of Melville and Whitman*, by Van Wyck Brooks, and *The Big Sky*, by A. B. Guthrie, Jr., have all been made available to members at the low price of $1.65. Thus, members average savings of more than 50%.

Membership in the Club is very simple. There are no initiation fees or dues. You pay only for the books you accept. Each month our literary magazine, the *Book Find News*, is mailed to you free. It reviews the forthcoming Selection and contains other literary articles of interest to book lovers. If you want the Selection you merely let it come. If not, you return to us the printed form (furnished by us), which tells us not to send you the Selection. Your only obligation as a member is to accept as few as 4 books a year.

JOIN THE BOOK FIND CLUB WITH "OUR PLUNDERED PLANET"

(or any other of these past Selections)
for $1.65, plus 14¢ postage and handling

• THE WORLD WITHIN—*Edited by Mary Louise Aswell, Notes by Dr. Frederic Wertham* •
• A MASK FOR PRIVILEGE—*Carey McWilliams* • PROUD DESTINY—*Lion Feuchtwanger* •
• CRITICS & CRUSADERS—*Charles A. Madison* • THE BIG SKY—*J. B. Guthrie, Jr.* •
• STENDHAL—*Matthew Josephson* • WE, THE PEOPLE—*Leo Huberman* •
• THE TIMES OF MELVILLE AND WHITMAN—*Van Wyck Brooks* •
• THE AGE OF JACKSON—*Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* •
• MAN AGAINST MYTH—*Barrows Dunham* •

CHOOSE *FREE* ANY ONE OF THESE OUTSTANDING WORKS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED